We Will Do Our Share

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO AND THE GREAT WAR

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THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO AND THE GREAT WAR

Exhibition by the University of Toronto Archives
Harold Averill, Marnee Gamble, and Loryl MacDonald

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
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A catalogue of an exhibition held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, from 27 January to 2 May 2014. The exhibition draws on the extensive and diverse holdings relating to the war effort in the University of Toronto Archives, the wider University library system, and elsewhere on campus which includes correspondence, diaries, official documents, photographs, posters, maps, and a wide range of publications and artifacts. Includes bibliographical references.
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PREFACE

The account of the University's participation in the Great War of 1914 to 1918 has been thoroughly and ably documented in this exhibition and accompanying catalogue. The stories told here are based on a rich array of artifacts and textual and graphic records that form part of the extensive holdings of the University of Toronto Archives. It is truly a testament to the dedication and passion of several generations of archivists that so much of the documentary record of the University's role in the War survives. Formally established in 1965, the University of Toronto Archives is responsible for the appraisal, acquisition, preservation, and use of University records of permanent value and the private records of individuals and organizations associated with the University. Both aspects of the collections, university records and private papers, have been drawn on to great effect by the curators Harold Averill, Marnee Gamble, and Loryl Macdonald.

The seeds of much that still characterizes the University today were first sown during the war period. Prior to the First World War there was very little research activity but the war stimulated work in many areas, including the founding of the Connaught Antitoxin Lab in 1917. Challenges to academic freedom came from both outside and inside the University, as the German professoriate came under attack. Fund-raising took centre stage, as members of the wider university community rallied to support the war effort by putting together the resources needed to equip and staff the No. 4 General Hospital which was shipped to Salonika. Alumni and other volunteers stepped forward in many different capacities to keep the war effort, and the University, going. Budgetary problems, including large deficits as enrollment declined, were a constant fact of life, and the battle for space to house and train recruits as the war continued was a juggling act that preoccupied the President and many other administrators. The University's resourcefulness in respon-ding to all these immense challenges was truly impressive.

This exhibition and catalogue pays tribute to that resourcefulness, and to the heroism and personal sacrifice of so many men and women in the University community a century ago.

Anne Dondertman
Associate Librarian for Special Collections and
Director, Fisher Library

We will do our Share: the University of Toronto and the Great War

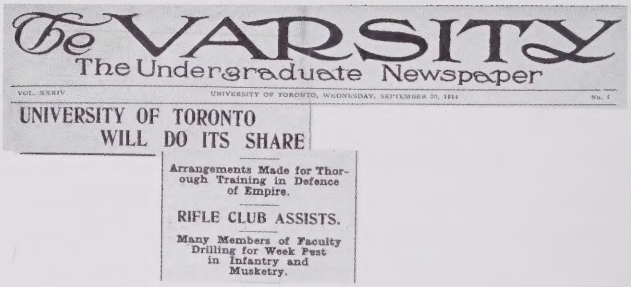
The war preoccupies everyone, mind and body, and preoccupies even our building.

I

SCRAMBLING TO WAR

When Great Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 and Canada went to war, the University of Toronto, like the country, was caught off guard and ill-prepared. President Robert Falconer was not even in Canada; he and his wife, Sophie, were in Europe on a much delayed and well-earned vacation. Early in August they managed with difficulty to catch a jam-packed tramp steamer from Norway to England, from where they sailed to Montreal from Liverpool at the end of the month.

Neither they nor anyone else at the University could foresee what the next few years would bring. Their rather cosy and relatively prosperous Edwardian world came crashing down. By November 1918, the war that would be over by Christmas had disrupted the lives of a large portion of the professoriate and left many graduates and students dead or forever changed by their wartime experiences. It had strained the physical and financial resources of the university to the breaking point and delayed for six years planned expansion and renewal. It dramatically affected student organizations and extra-curricular activities, most of which were now


The VARSITY
The Undergraduate Newspaper
VOL. XXXIV. UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1914 No. 1

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO WILL DO ITS SHARE

Arrangements Made for Thorough Training in Defence of Empire.

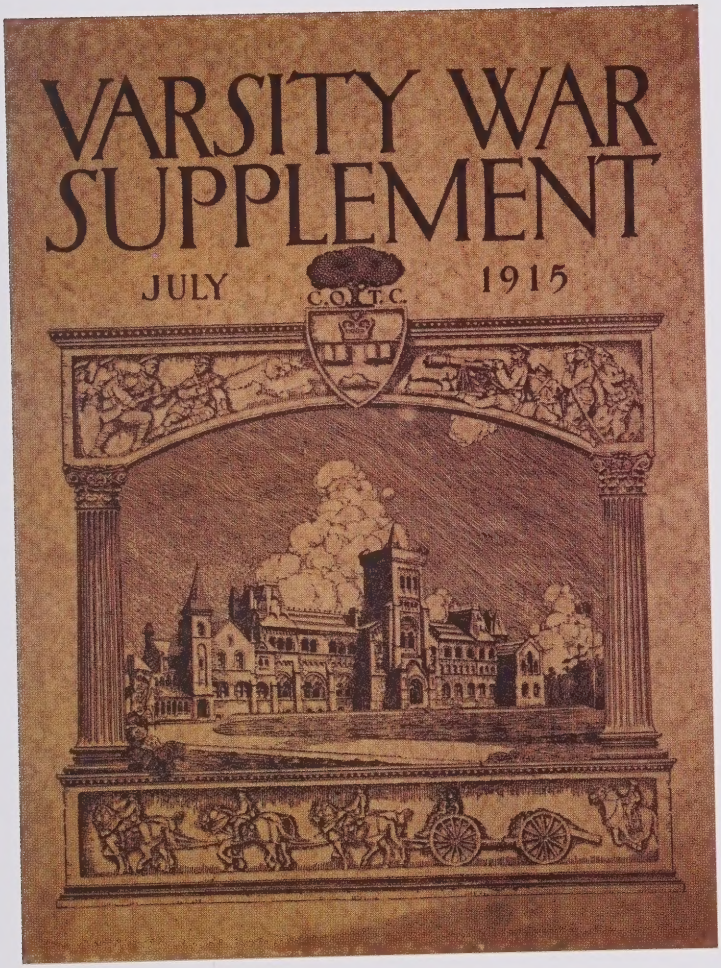
RIFLE CLUB ASSISTS.

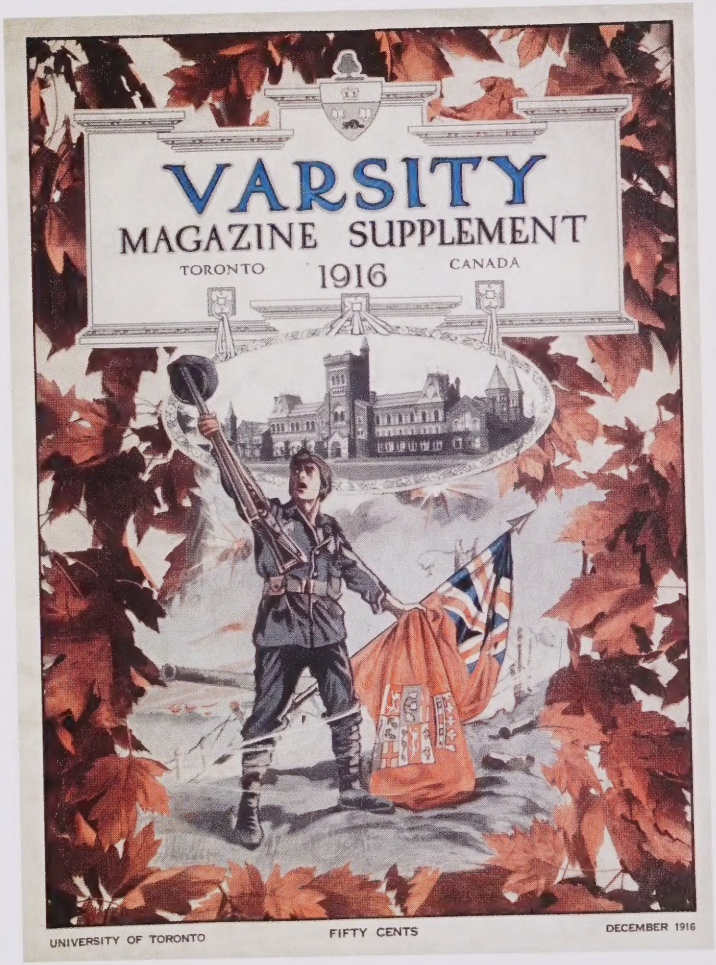
Many Members of Faculty Drilling for Week Past in Infantry and Musketry.

directed to the war effort, including the recording of and writing about the war and its sacrifices.

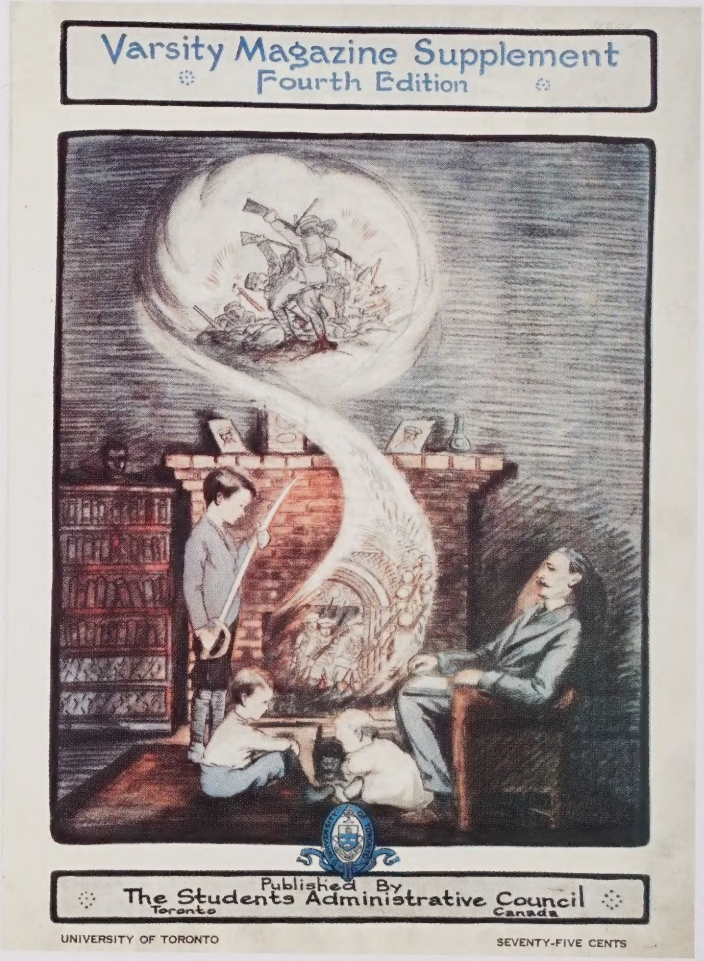
Finally, the war demonstrated how inventive the University could be working in difficult circumstances. Enormous efforts, entailing much organization and imaginative use of resources, were made to assist the war effort. The University turned over all of some of it's buildings and portions of many others to the military as the war progressed. The faculty and staff volunteered thousands of hours to handle the increased paperwork, the extra courses and the demand for public speakers to encourage enlistment and help maintain morale. The University made its first major push in research, beginning the long road from primarily a teaching to a research institution. There were continuous fundraising campaigns for the Red Cross, the Patriotic Fund and other appeals, but especially for the University's No. 4 General Hospital which was shipped to Salonika in Greece in 1915. Much of this work was carried out by the wives of faculty and staff and the women students. As the war progressed, the women students and men unable to fight were called on to help alleviate labour shortages on farms and in the munitions factories.

On his return to the University, President Falconer faced


VARSITY WAR SUPPLEMENT
JULY
C.O.T.C.
1915


VARSITY
MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
TORONTO
1916
CANADA
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
FIFTY CENTS
DECEMBER 1916

VARSITY MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
TORONTO
CANADA
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS


Varsity Magazine Supplement
Fourth Edition
Published By
The Students Administrative Council
Toronto
Canada
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS

two immediate challenges. The first was to prepare the University generally for war and, in particular, encouraging and managing the training and enlistment of students and members of the faculty. The second, came unexpectedly in the form of an attack on the German professoriate at the university, which rapidly devolved into an attack on academic freedom and a challenge to Falconer's authority to manage academic appointments. It also strained the relationship between town and gown.

Some members of the faculty departed as soon as war was declared. The Department of French at University College was thrown into disarray when its instructors Louis Bibet and Paul Balbaud found their own way (Bibet from his summer job as a fire warden at Temagami) to Europe to join the French army, in which they served for the duration of hostilities. Professor Saint-Elme de Champ, who habitually spent his summers in France, as his wife refused to live in Canada, was drafted into the French army, only to be discharged as medically unfit a year later, allowing him to return to Toronto. Guy de Lestard, the instructor hired to teach de Champ's and Bibet's courses, drew his pay from what would have been their normal salaries.

Staff on military service negotiated their salaries while absent: half pay, full pay or *pro forma* without salary. This sometimes meant hardships – the reduction of Professor de Champ's salary by six hundred dollars left him under financial stress– but the University, already in straightened financial circumstances, very seldom agreed to full salaries for absent staff. The total number of the faculty (the figures included those on military service) remained stable during the war, 463 in 1914 compared to 466 in 1918. What did fluctuate, as professors enlisted, was the number of sessional appointments, especially in the Faculty of Medicine, which helped keep down costs.

Professor de Champ was not the only University person to be caught in Europe. Music students Ernest MacMillan and John Davidson Ketchum, who were studying in Germany in the summer of 1914, got swept up by the authorities and spent the war in a civilian internment camp on the Ruhleben harness racing track in Berlin. MacMillan, who had been the University organist and was about to enter his final year, was given his degree. The experience had such an impact on Ketchum that he switched from music to psychology, compiled data on his fellow detainees, and eventually published a book on his experiences.

By the time a contingent of the Canadian Officers Training Corps was formed on campus in the third week of October, over seven hundred men had given in their names and were drilling regularly under professors who were reservists in the Militia or who had been recommended for provisional appointment to the fledgling COTC. There was already sustained pressure on the students to enroll. They faced a steady bombardment of speeches about the war – its causes, the duty to fight, the righteousness of the Allied cause. One student, who had just been to a packed address in Convocation Hall on 18 October by the renowned Anglican cleric, Canon Henry Cody, wrote to his mother: 'It was a war sermon (I'm getting sick of them)'.

The University did everything it could to help prepare the students for the military struggle ahead. It began by revising

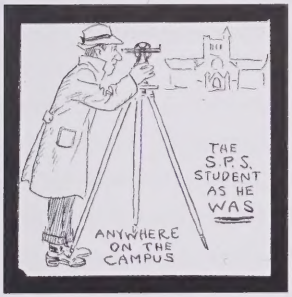
An early military drill on campus, 1914.

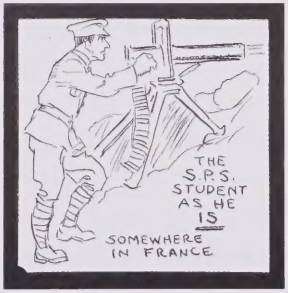
regulations so that students 'who had enlisted, or would do, should be shown the utmost consideration at the end of the session that the University's duty in maintaining professional standards would allow'. Lectures and laboratory work ended at 4:00 pm to allow students to take the courses of drill and instruction required by the COTC; they were compensated for any work they might miss by drilling. Students who, by enlisting, missed their September supplementals were given standing. In December, President Falconer began pressing the military for a decision on a proposed spring camp for intensive training as the schedule for final exams was set early in the year.

By January 1915 the number of graduates and undergraduates on active service was about fifteen hundred, though most had not yet headed overseas. On 23 February a farewell dinner was given to 136 men who were going overseas with the Second Division of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Two days later a special convocation was held to 'confer degrees on all the men in their final academic year who had been selected for the front. They paraded in uniform about 40 strong, mostly Arts and Medicine. A lot of others in lower years received wristwatches'. Second term was shortened,

with exams being written in March. This eased the burden on COTC members who wrote two military exams – these were no breeze as they entailed a three-hour paper – one before and the other after their academic exams, and freed them to attend a military camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake during the first two weeks of May. The University then closed three weeks early, on 21 May, to facilitate enlistment for overseas service.

Students accepted for active service could be granted the full year, and final year students their degrees. Academic credits varied according to faculty; in Arts each student was granted the year or part thereof. COTC members who opted for the final examinations before enlisting received a bonus of up to 10 per cent in each of their subjects. At the very least, credit could be given in a problem course. One student





crawled back from fighting just to receive an urgent telegram from the University announcing he had been given a pass in Spanish, a subject he had originally failed badly.

2,968 male students started at the U of T in the fall of 1914. At the end of the academic year 484 undergraduates were on active service, along with seventy-one members of staff and 668 graduates, for a total of 1,173. University College alone had sent 125 graduates and undergraduates.

THE GERMAN PROFESSORIATE

By the time Falconer reached Toronto the flocking of professors and students to enroll was already in full swing. The second disruption to normality – an attack on the German professoriate – was not anticipated. It was initiated by Edward Hagarty, the hot-headed principal of Harbord Collegiate who was also a member of the University Senate. Hagarty focused on three members of the faculty who had been born in Germany. Paul Mueller, who had lived in Canada for two decades and had three sons at Harbord Collegiate, was associate professor of German at University College. Bonno Tapper, a new arrival from the United States, whose appointment had been approved by the Board of Governors on 11 June, was a lecturer in the same department. Immanuel Benzinger in Oriental Studies, a highly respected academic who had recently been promoted to full professor had, with difficulty, just returned to Toronto from Germany.

Mueller was the most 'Canadian' of the three; his German citizenship had lapsed and he was therefore not eligible for call-up to the German army. As the storm broke he applied for Canadian citizenship which he received at the end of December. None of these men posed any kind of a threat to Canada, but that was not the point. They were *German* in a publicly-funded university.

The President defended the professors in the press, only

to be accused of giving encouragement to Canada's enemies. To the Board of Governors and in private correspondence in response to demands that he dismiss the professors, he stated that he would act only if ordered to do so by the Province. There was vocal support from the students and many of the faculty, the *Varsity* was highly critical of the attacks on the professors, and the students in Oriental Studies wrote a strongly-worded letter of protest. But the new Premier was reluctant to get involved, and the growing anti-German hysteria in Toronto, whipped up by some newspapers, especially the *Mail*, the *World*, and the *Telegram*, caused fractures within the Board of Governors. There the views of the chairman, Sir Edmund Walker, and several other officers were in a decided minority amongst the mostly conservative lawyers and businessmen. On 13 November the Senate sent a deputation of non-academic members to the Board requesting information about 'the presence of any alien enemies in the staff of the University'. On 4 December the Board, supported by the decision of the Senate's deputation 'that was strong and explicit in the demand for the removal of the German element from the Varsity staff,' presented a motion that the three professors be dismissed outright. Two members of the Board, Sir Edmund Osler and Eric Armour, were even willing to force Falconer's resignation if he did not agree. Had the Board's motion passed, Falconer would have left; as it was, he voted against the compromise motion that they be required to take leaves of absence on full salary until the end of the academic year. Osler objected so strongly that he resigned from the Board.

In this heated atmosphere, Tapper resigned a week later

and returned to the United States. He remained on salary until 30 April and his lectures were taken by Geoffrey Holt, a recent appointment. President Falconer made a great effort to arrange for Benzinger an exchange with an American university, describing him as 'not only a fine scholar, but a good teacher and a most estimable man. We should regret very much also to lose his services permanently'. When Falconer failed in his quest, Benzinger resigned on 31 December. The Board justified paying his full salary of $3,100 due to 'his having resigned a permanent position on our staff owing to special circumstances without any other means of support at present in view'.

The *Telegram*, in particular, continued to criticize Benzinger's continued presence on the University's books. It gleefully quoted an especially strident article in the *Canada Law Journal* which attacked both Falconer and Walker, concluding that 'Canada can do without teachers for a few months. It is a matter of no importance whether, during this

war for our national existence, whether there are any teachers in the University, or indeed whether there is or not a University at all, unless, indeed, it be used as a recruiting centre'.

Falconer also had no success in finding Mueller a position in an American university. Mueller was actually directed to pay for a substitute (Professor Swedelius of McMaster University) to teach his classes. He tendered his resignation in June 1915 when Falconer informed him the Board would not countenance his being reinstated. The Board accepted his resignation with alacrity, with Falconer dissenting. Mueller went to McMaster, where he had been a part-time lecturer since 1910, and later headed his department.

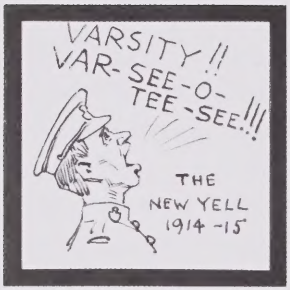
The departure of Mueller caused turmoil in the German Department at University College, which was left with virtually no staff; its head, George Needler, having been seconded to help establish the local contingent of the COTC. Students who had been taking Mueller's classes found them cancelled until second term. Falconer had difficulty (several prospects turned down the position) in finding a replacement for Mueller. His selection, Barker Fairley, did not arrive until the summer of 1915. Oriental Studies was fortunate in having the recently appointed William Robert Taylor, who proved to be an able successor to Benzinger.

An anti-German undercurrent remained at the University. Platon Reich, a lecturer in German at Trinity College made unguarded remarks to the *Varsity* regarding the war; there was 'a complete case for Germany, which the Germans uphold in all honesty and sincerity'. The President rebuffed public demands that he be fired by pointing out that the University had no jurisdiction over Trinity's appointments. More unsettling was the treatment of Edouard Fernow, Dean of Forestry. He was attacked by politicians and even by some of his students and supposed ex-students. One of the latter's vitriolic pieces of hate mail began 'Dear Old Furnuts'. The Dean's 'crime' was that he, a naturalized American citizen, had never become a British subject. He had not done so because he planned to retire to the United States. President Falconer defended him and the Board backed him. The latter could not question his loyalty as Fernow's reaction to the attacks was to continually exhort his students to sign up. The result was an extremely high level of enlistment and the highest death rate of any faculty in the University.

II

THE HOME FRONT
EMPTYING THE CAMPUS

As the second year of war began, the engineering students returned to 'a different, a quieter and a more subdued School'. They also found 'the insistent call for men was becoming louder and as result, out of about 150 [of the graduating class] that started the year only eighty reported for examinations'. It was like this across the campus. In University College the year began with two hundred fewer male students and that number also declined daily. Principal Hutton's Greek classes shrank by fifty to seventy-five per cent, and in some other



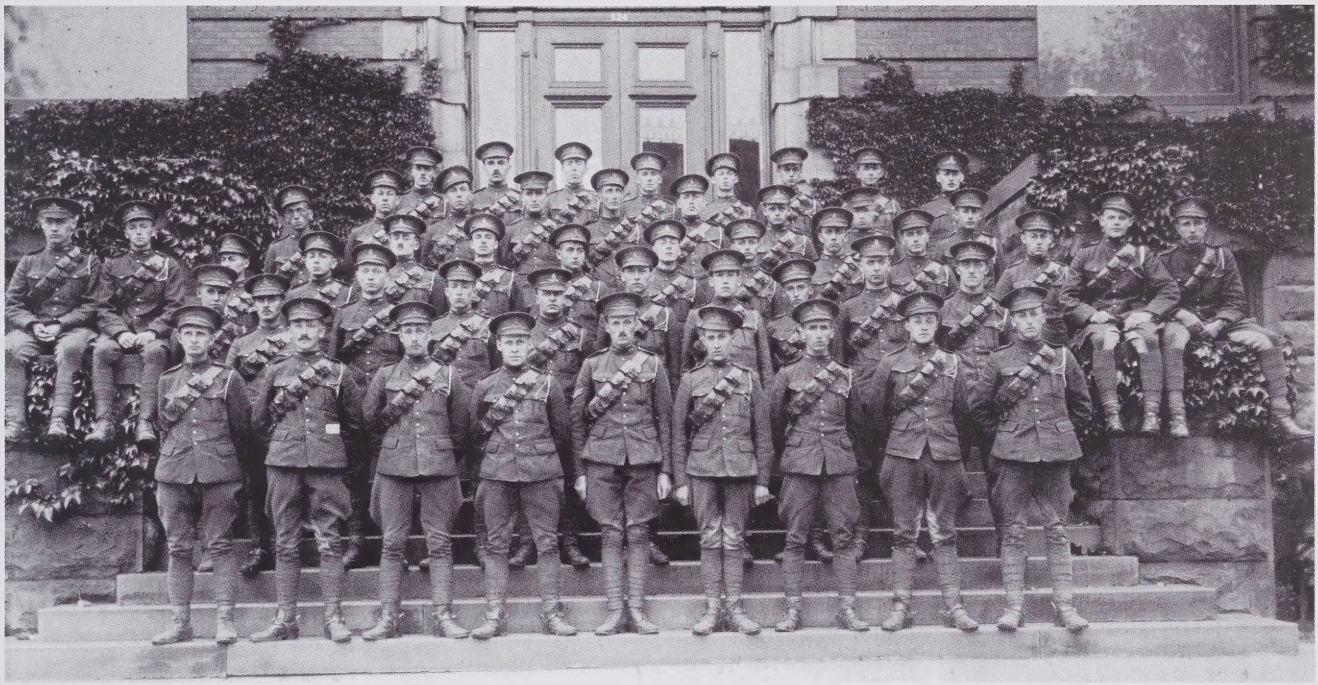
departments and colleges the attrition was even higher. Not all academic divisions had fewer students. A demand for chemists drew more students to Chemical Engineering, while the new Department of Social Service was largely responsible for the slight increase in the number of women on campus. Medicine had some success in keeping up its complement of male students. Amidst the general downward spiral, Education was the only faculty to see an increase in enrollment.

By January 1916 speculation was rife about how much longer the university could continue to function. Roy Rankin, a medical student, wrote to his parents, 'I don't know whether Arts & Science [Engineering] will open next year or not. Hardly think they will. Medicine will, I believe'. This letter was written before the Somme offensive in the summer of 1916 and its enormous casualties, which brought a push for ever more recruits. Rankin wrote home from his summer job in Detroit, 'The war is bad now. A lot of Varsity fellows killed in the last battle. Too bad.' One of these was Howard Primrose, the only son of Professor Alexander Primrose in Medicine; 'the death of his boy was a shocking tragedy. The poor fellow was annihilated by a shell at his very first experience in the trenches'.

Labour shortages and rapidly increasing costs had reached such a point by early 1916 that every division in the University was adjusting how it operated. The Men's Dining Hall, in spite of numerous innovations, struggled to cope, but the problem was everywhere. The University lost staff it found very hard to replace, its chief electrician being one. At the University of Toronto Press the solution was to substitute machinery for labour wherever possible. The Press ordered a folding machine to replace the boys and girls who had heretofore folded all magazines and calendars by hand. The purchase of a stereotype machine made it possible 'to release the large amount of metal ordinarily kept standing in type which has become very expensive since the outbreak of the war'.

At the beginning of the fall term in 1916, Rankin observed that 'there is quite a falling off in attendance here, but most of the Meds are back. Most of the Residence fellows are back. It looks to me as if there are about ten girls to every fellow'. President Falconer observed that 'in Arts there are very few men and among them hardly any freshmen who would be accepted for military service. In Applied Science the numbers have fallen to 190, whereas five years ago we had 780 and last year 340... The whole place has changed, the quiet tone being marked everywhere'. By the end of the academic year, 765 'Skule' men [students of Applied Science] were in khaki, and almost another hundred chemical and mechanical men were doing specialized work in munitions.

The campus did not appear quiet to Lieutenant-Colonel T. Herbert Lennox, MPP, who was drilling his 208th



First Overseas Draft, 67th (Varsity) Battery, C.F.A. June 1916.

(Canadian Irish) Battalion on the Back Campus in the fall of 1916. He had noticed all 'the young men, students of the university, who pass and re-pass every day'. There seemed to be a lot of them dallying about, he thundered at a recruiting meeting, while his men, eighty per cent of them workingmen and sixty per cent of them married, 'almost every one of them has given up a lucrative position to fight for his country. It is hard to think that we must make this sacrifice to help the slackers to get a higher education'. He hinted at coming changes in recruitment that would force these 'pink tea gentlemen' into uniform and would use his political influence to try and shut down all universities. While his views were not that uncommon in military circles, and President Falconer effectively countered them the next day, the issue of closing the universities refused to die. Early in 1917 the President had his position printed in a pamphlet in reaction to a proposal that the University be closed for the 1917-1918 academic year if the war was still on.

The military did discourage recruiting in Medicine as it needed trained medical officers. But it was quite willing to accept students with some medical background. In the 1914-1915 academic year from a third to a half of the third- to fifth-

year students were given standing on account of military service. The crunch came in 1916, when too many faculty members had enlisted just as the teaching load escalated. The desperate Department of Militia pressured the University into establishing for the first time courses for fourth-and fifth-year students starting on 1 May. The University could not or would not create extra-mural courses overseas, so the students had to come back to Toronto where 'we will see how quickly we can get them through'. Forty-two returned, half of whom were fifth-year students from Salonika who did not arrive until mid-June, 'after many detentions here and there and a dozen other places', travelling by convoy and dodging in and out of ports to avoid submarines. The class convocated on 11 December and left immediately – 'nearly all the boys go the Front as soon as they graduate'. The dean eased the teaching load by starting the 1917 summer session for the fifth-year students in August, with graduation the following March.

The School of Dentistry of the Royal College of Dental Surgeons, which was affiliated with the University, placed itself at the disposal of the government early in the war. Students would be trained for service in the Canadian Army Dental Corps, with which the School had a close connection. (Four of its dentists had helped create the Corps, the first separate military dental service in the world.) In the spring of 1917 the School ran a special class of 125 men with three to six months training directed for service overseas. From the fall of 1917, with conscription in force, freshmen registered on the understanding that they would be examined at the Armouries and, if found physically fit, would serve as sergeants in the Corps. In addition to the regular training, the School periodically conducted two sergeant classes and special summer sessions. Students who proved satisfactory after twelve months were advanced a year after which many then left for overseas.

The ongoing discussion of exemptions for medical, dental, and veterinary students was settled when students from fourth and fifth years were declared exempt so long as they took military training and completed their studies. Students in the lower years were often denied exemptions. Those who had voluntarily enlisted but were given leave to continue their studies could wear their uniforms at all times. They were members of the CEF, not of the COTC.

In the University as a whole, the fall in the total number of male students continued apace. Only a single man graduated at Trinity College in 1917. At Victoria College in the last year of the war the number of male students was eighty-one, a quarter of what it had been in 1914. The class of 1T8 in Engineering, which began with a promising 131 fresh faces in 1914, had dwindled to a mere twenty-six older and wiser students by graduation day.

By 11 November 1918, 5,691 current or former members of the University had enlisted, of whom 158 were staff. At Victoria College, 642 (377 of them undergraduates) were on active service, 530 of them overseas. Sixty-seven were killed, including fifteen during the major push during the last months of the war. In total, more than ten per cent (608) of the University enlistees were killed in action or died on service, and 884 were wounded.

COTC drill on the Front Campus in the snow, ca. 1915.

THE IMPACT ON STUDENT LIFE

Such attrition had a dramatic impact on campus, both in the academic and social spheres. In his 1917 annual report, President Falconer reported that 'as was to be expected the academic work of the year has not been in most cases of the same quality as before the war. The spirit of the students was not as keen as in normal times'.

The shadow of war fell immediately upon the playing field. Three weeks after classes started the men's Athletic Association asked the Board of Governors for financial relief, largely because attendance at its rugby matches, its chief source of revenue, had dropped. The Board came through and the 'usual schedules in all branches of athletics, both in Interfaculty and Intercollegiate competition' proceeded. Even so, there were disruptions and cancellations. Because of the delay in the construction of Hart House, indoor athletics had to be carried out in the temporary gymnasium and the basement of the Mining Building. In Association football (soccer) McGill was not available for the intercollegiate play-

offs and 'the Senior Interfaculty schedule…had to be abandoned. The Officers' Training Corps appropriated the front campus and then finally monopolized the rear campus at the expense of soccer practice'. Rugby practice was moved to Varsity Stadium.

For the remainder of the war, all intercollegiate matches in all men's sports were cancelled. Soon the women's were as well, but for different reasons. The games of intra-mural men's teams were reported regularly in the *Varsity* but received little or no mention in *Torontonensis*, the undergraduate yearbook.

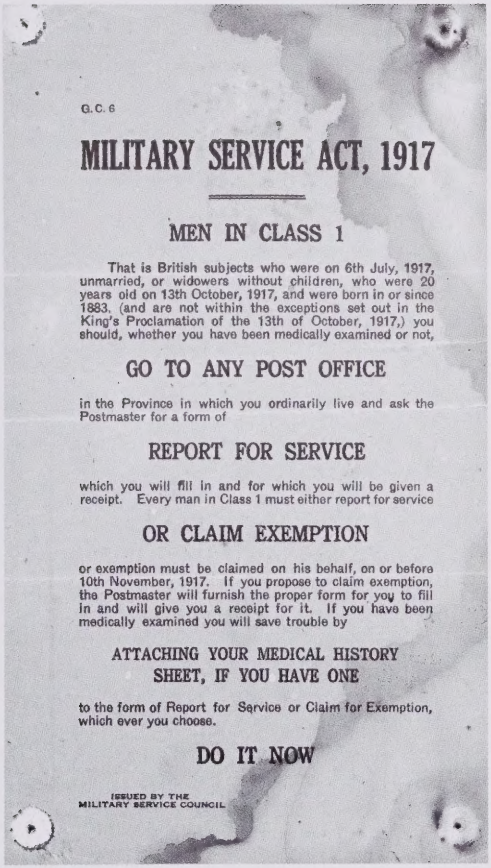
While paring athletics to the bone produced a tear in the social fabric of the campus, there were other casualties as long-standing social events were abandoned and the politics of war intruded on the students' lives. At University College for 1914-1915 they were listed as 'Discussion Clubs, Petition, Reception Games, German Staff, Corn Roast'. University-wide groups such as the Oratorical Contest, Theatre Night, the Glee Club, and the Musical Association were abandoned in 1915.

The men's undergraduate governing bodies, particularly in Arts, Engineering, and Forestry, were seriously affected. The venerable University College Literary and Scientific Society, a campus fixture since 1854, was on the verge of collapse by the fall of 1915 as obtaining a quorum for meetings had become increasingly difficult. In December the constitution was suspended and the executive ran the Society until the end of the war. While it continued to hold mock parliaments to raise money for the Red Cross and 'other patriotic purposes' and championed the formation of a Varsity Battery, the debates which had been a central activity were abandoned. In 1921 a re-organized and quite different 'Lit' that had moved away from its debating society roots re-emerged following a difficult two-year review.

The Engineering Society reduced its schedule of meetings and events and, due to severe financial difficulties, suspended *Applied Science*, its monthly publication of papers and addresses, for the last half of the war. In Forestry, where enrollment fell from forty-eight in 1914-1915 to ten in each year from 1916 onwards, with some students leaving throughout each year, the Forestry Club soon existed in little more than name. Though its annual banquet was cancelled from 1916 on, the Club did produce a directory of graduates, with special mention of those who served.

Nor were the students spared the tensions around them caused by the mounting casualties and increasing pressure to enlist. At a great temperance parade on 8 March 1916, at which a good number of students, including members of the COTC, were present, 'crowds composed largely of soldiers lined the route, of course, and the soldiers and the recruiting officers kept shouting – "Why aren't you in khaki – why don't you enlist?", etc. Some of the OTC men in uniform were in the parade and they were the objects of special derision. The soldiers called them yellow-bellies and the rest of us slackers and shirkers…Around the armoires…[on University Avenue] the soldiers were thick and as we came along, they began throwing snow and ice at the banners and at us…[Having attacked the lone mounted policeman] they rushed into the parade from both sides, captured and destroyed some of the banners and roughly handled some of the students'.

The next day the Students' Council of Victoria College



G.C. 6

MILITARY SERVICE ACT, 1917

MEN IN CLASS 1

That is British subjects who were on 6th July, 1917, unmarried, or widowers without children, who were 20 years old on 13th October, 1917, and were born in or since 1883, (and are not within the exceptions set out in the King's Proclamation of the 13th of October, 1917,) you should, whether you have been medically examined or not,

GO TO ANY POST OFFICE

in the Province in which you ordinarily live and ask the Postmaster for a form of

REPORT FOR SERVICE

which you will fill in and for which you will be given a receipt. Every man in Class 1 must either report for service

OR CLAIM EXEMPTION

or exemption must be claimed on his behalf, on or before 10th November, 1917. If you propose to claim exemption, the Postmaster will furnish the proper form for you to fill in and will give you a receipt for it. If you have been medically examined you will save trouble by

ATTACHING YOUR MEDICAL HISTORY SHEET, IF YOU HAVE ONE

to the form of Report for Service or Claim for Exemption, which ever you choose.

DO IT NOW

ISSUED BY THE MILITARY SERVICE COUNCIL

protested the actions of the soldiers, hoping that the military authorities would take action. 'The students could have been in khaki, as they are all members of the COTC, and are only awaiting the conclusion of their exams, before going overseas'.

As previously noted, after the Somme offensive, the need for manpower was even greater. In December 1916 the Federal Government gave notice that, under the War Measures Act, it would, during the first week of January, register all resident males between the age of sixteen and sixty-five. The Caput and the Senate immediately responded by asking the Board of Governors to take action. The University went one step further than Ottawa. Every student, male *and* female, was required to submit a completed National Service Card by the end of January. Few did not do so.

The figures gathered gave University officials a very good idea of the resources available amongst the 1,884 students. It also confirmed that the general health of the students was relatively poor. Forty-two percent (467) of the 1,027 were men were medically unfit, of whom 219 were so declared by the military. The rest, who had not offered to serve, were only in fair health or had physical defects; 215 of them offered to do work in the National Service. Of the 595 women in Arts, 524 were stated to be in good health and seventy-one in fair health. 540 indicated they were willing to do National Service: ten in chemistry, five in dietetics, and the remainder in agriculture, munitions, or either.

In mid-January President Falconer made one of his 'sporadic exhortations to enlist or do national service if not physically fit. He said that when the demand for farm labour comes in the spring they will not allow examinations to stand in the way of any who wished to leave about the beginning of April and do 5 months of national service on farms or munitions factories'. Students in Arts and Applied Science would be available after mid-April; those in Medicine and Education not until the end of May. Before the end of term requests were already being received by chemists and wireless opera-

tors. 'Students have been permitted to count this service as enlistment and have been given their year'. Commencement was set for 18 May, the call for students to work on the farms being an additional reason for the early closing of the academic year.

The number of students employed in non-agricultural areas is insufficiently documented, but as munitions work paid more with better hours, one can assume that most of the 135 men and 332 women who indicated a preference for that work were successful in finding some. Figures are also lacking for the number of male students who worked on farms (seventy had indicated a preference) although the press did make casual reference to their doing the 'heavy work'. Forty to fifty professors were also reported to have opted for farm work, by which the *Globe* probably meant the junior ranks, since the senior professors and President Falconer had left for their summer cottages at Go Home Bay once examinations were written.

There was much public interest in the 'farmerettes' and the press reported widely on where they went and how they fared. The University swung into action and, in co-operation with the provincial Labour Bureau, determined where and how many students would be deployed, while the YWCA found accommodation. In the last week of February 1917 the *Toronto Daily Star* reported that the 'mobilization of the fair co-eds resident at Annesley Hall, St. Hilda's and Queen's Hall for fruit-picking and work in the orchards of the Niagara peninsula is under way...It is possible that as many as 500 students from University College, Victoria and Trinity may spend their summer on the farm ...' The dress was also decided, 'the gymnasium dress, dark bloomers and middies of khaki colour...' as were the wages which were 'calculated to run from $1 to $4 a day, out of which the students will have to pay board...'

In mid-March the *Varsity* reported that 122 women, including some from Medicine and St. Michael's College, had enlisted for summer work on farms. Over the next fortnight newspapers reported that the University College recruits (seventy-five of them) would go to Beamsville from 1 June to 15 October, along with twenty-five St. Hildians to Grimsby and up to thirty-five Vic girls to Winona. Oakville was added in April. The season was scheduled to start on 15 May, with students hulling American strawberries at the E.D. Smith plant at Winona. But the cool spring delayed this work, which normally lasted three weeks, by more than a week and the fruit picking season even longer. The latter continued past the contract time of mid-October, with grapes not being all picked until the end of the month. 1917 proved to be 'a poor fruit year generally'.

The weather and the student farm employment project, being a first effort, meant that some of the students' experiences were not very positive. They were supplied with three types of accommodation: farmers' homes, community houses, and camping in bell tents. The last was deemed preferable over all, but there were complaints about the quality of the tents and the lack of amenities, especially for washing.

The heat, the long hours, and the working conditions all took their toll. Women who hoed all day longed for variety, while those who picked fruit were dead tired at day's end. The statement, 'At first the girls were quite afraid of the ladders,

'Farmerettes' picking fruit at the Government Experimental Farm in Vineland, Ontario in the summer of 1918.

but we soon got over that,' was a bit optimistic. One St. Hildian, looking back some thirty-five years later, wrote of her experience 'wearing those billowing bloomers of the time. The Ontario farmers of that day did not keep their fruit trees low, and I can still get butterflies in my stomach by recalling my extension ladder propped against a few madly blowing twigs of a cherry tree'.

There was also the central matter of wages. Hulling a sixteen-pound pail of strawberries paid sixteen cents with up to twenty cents for small berries. Fruit-pickers were paid for the amount picked. Good crops brought $1.50 to $2 per day, but in poor orchards no more than sixty cents a day. Slow workers were paid less than the nimble-fingered ones, one of whom ruefully admitted that 'some days I only made thirty-nine cents!' Students contemplating returning the following year preferred a flat rate of pay with a bonus at the end of the summer, as was the custom in the munitions factories.

The length of the season itself became an issue as the deadline (15 October) for the registration for classes approached. Early in the month the fifty-nine women still helping with the harvest began to worry about missed classes. The University registrar wrote to the Labour Bureau that they 'will be excused from lectures until it is over and will be admitted without paying any fine'.

While the press focused on the novelty of the 'farmerettes', there was little coverage of the women students' other projects to assist in the war effort. In the fall of 1914 the women of the Class of 1T6 at University College presented a petition 'pleading for economy in the class finances and for a contribution to the University Women's Red Cross Organization' that was assisting in producing supplies for the No. 4 General Hospital at Salonika.

The students were given a room, initially in the Household Science building and then in the Examination Hall, where three afternoons a week they could sew or knit. In 1916-1917 over a hundred women from University College alone were busy there. The amount of time volunteered was

Sorting supplies for the Canadian Red Cross in the Library. ca. 1915.

impressive; that year 2051 hours for the four Arts colleges and Medicine were donated. In addition, forty-nine students had enrolled in VAD (Voluntary Aid Detachment) and home nursing courses that had been run out of the University College Women's Union since November. One of the unintended consequences of all this activity was that students from across the University got to know each other better than previously, thus helping to create 'a broader university experience'. This was reflected in establishment in the fall of 1916 of the Women's Undergraduate Association of the University of Toronto, a counterpart to the men's Students' Administrative Council that had been founded in 1913.

The pressures to prepare for enlistment, the departures of the professors on military service, the distractions caused by fundraising and the increasing presence of the military on campus, with its demands on classroom and other space, all affected the ability of the students to carry on their studies effectively. Added to these were shortages caused by the war: books, laboratory equipment, and, periodically, coal for heating the buildings.

In the winter of 1917 the shortage of coal became so acute that the University was closed for nineteen days from 14 February. Some professors held classes in their homes while others were held on campus if a building could be heated sufficiently. Priority was placed on keeping University College and the main Victoria College building open but this was only partially successful. Buildings that had their own heating plants – Forestry, Chemistry, University of Toronto Schools, Kappa Alpha Fraternity on Hoskin Avenue, the University YMCA, and the Thermodynamics Building – opened more regularly. The engineering students, 'by doubling up in the Thermodynamics Building... managed to squeeze in the odd lecture'. The fourth- and fifth-year Medical students went to the Toronto General Hospital. On 25 February all lectures resumed in Engineering. On that day student Kent Duff noted that 'there is scarcely any present work to be done – no labs, etc. Although we are getting almost all the lectures. There seems to be no relief in sight for the coal situation'. On 5 March, with a fourteen day supply of coal having arrived from Buffalo, the whole of the University reopened.

Just as the war was winding down, the University experienced a second closure, this time because of the Spanish influenza which hit Toronto in October 1918. The School of Dentistry was the first to close, on the 16th, the day fifty-eight people died in the city. The next day the Faculty of Medicine

closed until further notice and on the 18th the rest of the University followed suit. It did not reopen until 5 November. Medical student David Eisen wrote in his diary that 'all dance halls have been closed down and all public assemblies forbidden. Theatres and moving picture houses will soon all be closed. Eaton's store will be shut down for three days'.

PROMOTION AND FUNDRAISING

Of the challenges the University faced in its war effort, two towered above all others: encouraging students to enlist, whilst keeping up morale and commitment to the cause, and finding the financial resources to carry on. The University was expected to canvass for funds to support the war effort generally, but it also had to finance the increased costs of running the University's physical plant, new projects associated with the war effort such as the No. 4 General Hospital, and the increasing military presence on campus.

As students flocked to sign up, the University, already in debt, began to adjust to a new reality of less income from fees and the possibility of reduced annual grants from the province. While the latter did not materialize – the grant was increased by $55,000 from the 1914 level to $500,000 in 1915-1916, where it remained – the University could not eliminate its deficit. The increased grants did not offset the decline in revenue from tuition and other fees ($74,000 less in 1917-1918 than in 1913-1914) or rapidly rising costs owing to shortages and inflation. The administration pared expenses by postponing building construction and repairs where possible, enforcing the tightest economies in departmental budgets, and slashing the library budget. It also turned to past benefactors amongst the monied families of Toronto.

The estate of Hart Massey was already financing the construction of Hart House, where inflation doubled the cost to almost $1,000,000 by the time it opened in November 1919. The estate of Lillian Massey Treble provided $100,000 for the continuing development of her beloved Faculty of Household Science. Mrs. Sarah Warren, the president of the Women's Patriotic League, paid for the salary ($3,000) of the director of the new Social Service Department from 1914 to 1919, while Miss McCormack gave $2,000 for its library. $25,000 from the E.C. Walker estate was earmarked for a men's residence, and a lot of money poured in to support the fledgling Royal Ontario Museum. Colonel Albert E. Gooderham purchased fifty-eight acres of land and erected buildings for a badly-needed anti-toxin laboratory which became the Connaught Laboratories in 1917. Finally, a substantial amount of money was donated for scholarships and fellowships. This largesse helped keep the deficit manageable but the University was still in the red in 1919.

To encourage students to enroll in the COTC and to enlist in October 1914, the long-standing and popular Saturday Lecture programme was replaced by a course of nine lectures on the war and its causes, delivered in Convocation Hall by selected professors to an average crowd of about a thousand. Visiting dignitaries, including the eminent English historian, G. M. Trevelyan, also gave lectures. These were complemented by frequent exhortations by President Falconer and other university officials, prominent clerics and public offi-

University of Toronto.

FREE PUBLIC LECTURES

ON

THE WAR AND ITS CAUSES

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19th—Lecture I. The Germany of Bismarck. Professor G. M. Wrong.
The Statecraft of Bismarck—The Franco-Prussian War—The New German Empire.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 26th—Lecture II. The Germany of William II. Professor G. M. Wrong.
The Aim at World Power.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd—Lecture III. The Balkan States and the European War. Professor H. T. F. Duckworth.
Reflex effects of wars of 1912-1913—Contest for influence in Balkan affairs between Austria and Russia.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9th—Lecture IV. The Economic Background. Professor G. I. H. Lloyd.
A Review of the Economic and Financial Situation at the Outbreak of the war.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16th—Lecture V. The Balance of Power. Professor James Mavor.
National Struggles in Europe.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd—Lecture VI. The Diplomatic Antecedents of the War. Professor E. J. Kylie.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30th—Lecture VII. The Diplomatic Antecedents of the War (Lecture II.) Professor E. J. Kylie.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7th—Lecture VIII. The Economic Mobilization. Professor G. I. H. Lloyd.
Emergency measures on the outbreak of war.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14th—Lecture IX. The Organization of the British Army. Professor W. R. Lang.
An army in peace time, and in the field.

ALBERT H. ABBOTT,
Secretary of University Extension.

cials. Speaking engagements were not confined to the campus. The Department of University Extension arranged for speakers to fan out across Toronto in the fall and winter of 1914 to give seventy-nine lectures. 101 lectures were also delivered in forty different centres across the province. Fees collected were remitted to the Red Cross or the Patriotic Fund.

Morale-boosting addresses were intertwined with the university's numerous fundraising drives. The Division of University Extension took on much work of the Speakers' Patriotic League, the purpose of which was to stimulate recruiting and the raising of contributions to the Patriotic Fund. The University provided an office for the secretary of the League in which A.H. Abbott, head of Extension, served as honorary secretary. Professor Cochrane of University College and a lieutenant in the COTC, was hired by the League to organize patriotic gatherings to push for enlistment and the raising of funds. By July of 1915, over $300,000 had been raised and the recruitment drive was very successful.

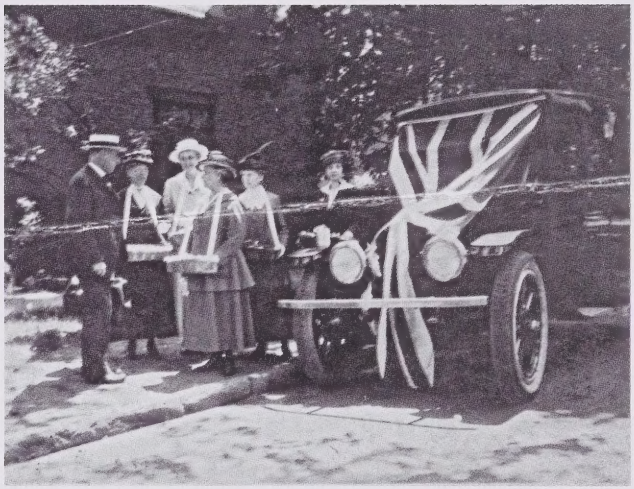
Faculty wives and the women students did much of the canvassing, as most of the men were involved with COTC activities. They provided support where they could, but male students excluded from drill were expected to help out. Those who did not volunteer were deemed to have been absent from lectures, a serious offence.

In October 1915 the Students' Administrative Council, which viewed the patriotic work of the University to be of the greatest importance, directed a campus-wide canvass for the Trafalgar Day Red Cross Campaign that raised $7,000 (the *Varsity's* 'very reasonable' amount of $1.00 per student or

$3,000 was exceeded). In January 1916 SAC donated $1,000 (part of the proceeds of the *Varsity War Supplement*) to the University Base Hospital. The same month student Kent Duff wrote to his brother, Layman, that 'There is a big campaign going on just now to collect $2,000,000.00 for the Patriotic Fund here. The University women are going to tag us all tomorrow'. In October 1916 a drive for the British Red Cross netted $3,862 from the staff and $1,920 from the students. On 6 December the women students conducted a campus-wide tag-day for the Widows of the Navy, 'to support the wives and children of sailors on the high seas', and to bring 'relief to the soldiers on duty at one of our great northern internment camps – Camp Kapuskasing'.

In January 1917, $14,325 was raised for the Toronto and York County Patriotic Fund, and in October almost $7,000 (one-third from the students) was collected during another appeal for the British Red Cross. A major campaign for the Victory Loan followed in December during which 'a special request was made to the students to undertake a share in canvassing...they secured 2,710 subscriptions, amounting to $343,300'. In January 1918 there was a drive for the Patriotic and Red Cross Fund. The staff raised $9,950 and the students $1,700.

The fundraising drives dearest to the University were for its No. 4 General Hospital, a 1,040-bed base hospital that was approved on 26 March 1915 and shipped via England to Salonika in Greece on 15 May. Before this could happen, the Hospital had to be equipped and funds raised to pay for supplies. An immediate appeal was made to thirteen thousand alumni, using envelopes that had been prepared for a now



Women students canvassing, 1914.

abandoned appeal for funds for a hockey arena. The work was organized by two committees. The first, representing the Board of Governors, Senate, and staff, arranged for the purchase of medical, surgical, and laboratory apparatus. The second, formed on 17 March as the Women's University Hospital Supply Association, was composed of ladies from the U of T and McMaster. It worked with a 'large number of societies both in Toronto and throughout the Province to provide everything in the way of bed linen, surgical dressings and garments for patients'. The two committees combined their efforts for fundraising.

Chaired by Lady Falconer, the Association was given space on campus from which it ran the fundraising drive, purchased supplies in bulk, and prepared them, along with sewn and donated items, for distribution overseas to the Hospital and other needy institutions. In the first year, 3,340

cases, containing 124,000 articles, were sent overseas. By war's end it had raised $121,000 and dispatched over 347,000 articles of hospital clothing, linen, etc., along with over 1.8 million articles of surgical supplies.

The Association organized itself into divisions, the main one being the work-room where much of the cutting and some sewing was done, along with a surgical supplies unit, and a packing unit which baled the materials and dispatched them. These units were located in buildings throughout the campus, but from mid-1917 were mostly centred in the Library. During the first three hectic months before the departure of the Hospital, 'several hundred capable women worked with intense energy...sheets and socks, in particular, were sent in by friends from all over Ontario and even from outside Ontario'. The work-room was occupied by up to ninety-five women a day; '40 sewing machines are kept going as fast as enthusiastic workers can make them go'. Before long material, with full instructions for making, was being sent out to hundreds of women from groups in churches, to the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and other societies. All items were returned to the Association for packing. Once the needs of the No. 4 General Hospital were met, much of the supplies were designated for the Red Cross which arranged for distribution. In conjunction with the Red Cross, the Association took on special orders as needed which kept it busy right through the war.

Donations in support of the Base Hospital poured in, mostly in individual small amounts of $5.00 or less and from monthly subscriptions, and from business, religious, and community organizations. A dozen or so substantial donations from the cream of Toronto society helped improve the financial base; $48,000 had been received by May 1915 and another $12,000 arrived by July. But it took a gift in mid-May of $40,000 from the estate of Mrs. Fulford, arranged by A.C. Hardy of Belleville, to secure the project. For the administration in Toronto, 'It relieved us of any anxiety as to the future' in the University's campaign to provide monthly supplies not covered by the Government, while Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts in Salonika was reassured that, 'the surgical supply situation for your Unit is perfectly covered by the Hardy donation and is safe'.

Ambulance donated to No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Shorncliff, August 1915.

Four motor ambulances, a limousine, and a heavy-duty truck were also donated, three by Americans. By the time the hospital left in May, the Association 'had sent four-fifths of the enormous equipment required', with the rest forwarded in July. In acknowledgment and appreciation, President Falconer arranged for a total accounting of the initial fundraising drive to be published in the first volume of '*The Varsity' War Supplement*.

The Dean of Medicine, Dr. C.K. Clarke, was in charge of the Toronto end of the Hospital and on his shoulders fell the unenviable task of keeping the public and the University Women's Hospital Supply Association happy. The latter could be prickly when it felt that its hard work was not being sufficiently recognized as, for example, when J.A. Roberts, who ran the Hospital in Salonika, was forced to seek other sources of supplies. On one of the latter occasions, Dr. Clarke confided that 'it is ordinarily understood that women never squabble when they have formed a society, but pull together like the gentle doves they always are. Our committee is an exception to that rule'.

Dr. Clarke also faced a constant barrage of phone calls from donors demanding to know how their donations were being utilized. He humourously vented his frustration in his 1915 Christmas letter to Roberts in Salonika:

> It was something like this, fifty times a day, – Gr-r-r-r- (telephone bell):...'Is that Doc Clarke?'; 'Yes, what is it?' 'Has Jimmy Roberts told you the correct pronunciation of Sal-on-ica?' 'No, he's not allowed to pronounce it, but calls it "somewhere in Greece"; 'You know I subscribed to that Hospital Fund and have a right to know?'; 'Well, write to John Malloch; he knows, he says he learned it in St. Paul. No, not St. Paul, Minnesota, – St. Paul in the New Testament'. 'Oh, did Dr. Malloch know St. Paul?' 'No, St. Paul is dead, – he died two or three years ago. Malloch never met him although he often used the same kind of words that Paul did before conversion; No, St. Paul was not married to Minnie Apolis; he was an old bachelor and Minnie an American, not Greek'. (Rings off).

Several months later he returned to the subject: 'When you come home you will find me a white haired, decrepit old man, – that is if I am to be found at all, – largely through having to deal with ladies' committees, the weak-minded, the insane, the imbecile, and the wicked, who never cease from troubling'.

Despite such annoyances, Dr. Clarke was well aware of the deep public interest in how the Hospital was faring, and the University took every opportunity to publicize its work. At the February 1916 production of 'Daffydil', the medical students' immensely popular stunt night that always played to a packed Convocation Hall, Dr. Clarke 'showed many views of the doings of the members of the Hospital Unit on board ship and on shore, and these were received with the loudest kind of applause'. At a celebration of the Hospital's first anniversary a month later, unable to get the films of Salonika and the troops he wanted, he showed 'two hundred slides...showing the movement of the Unit from time of organization', along with selections from letters. Three professors from the Faculty of Medicine gave a series of addresses on the Hospital to clubs across Toronto in October and November 1916, a pattern that was followed for the rest of the war.

III

THE USE OF BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS
JUGGLING SPACE

At times University officials must have felt they were doing the dance of the demented as they tried to balance the needs of the students against the demands of the war machine in its insatiable quest for space on campus. Inevitably the latter won out. The military entered into contracts with the University and its colleges for quartering and messing, with periodic adjustments to them. When rents were raised on quarters, for example, the cost was passed on to the occupants.

The first space to be turned over exclusively to the war effort was the museum room in the basement of the Mining Building, which became the quartermaster's stores for the COTC. A professor's room nearby became its orderly room. The COTC immediately took over the Front Campus for drilling and, shortly thereafter, the Back Campus as well. The Engineering Building was used by the School of Infantry under Colonel A.D. LePan until the spring of 1917, when the training of Polish soldiers expanded so rapidly that most of the School was moved out of the city.

The formation of the University Women's Hospital Supply Association in March 1915 meant that space had to be found immediately for it to carry out its work of fundraising, and the making and packaging of hospital and patient supplies. Over the next three years the UHA spread its tentacles across the campus. Work rooms for sewing and cutting opened on 25 March in the Biological Building where the whole second floor was given over to the Association. Rooms for the preparation of surgical dressings opened there on 1 April. The preparation of surgical supplies was soon organized as a separate division in the Physics Building, where work continued until the summer when it was determined surgical supplies could be purchased ready-made more cheaply in England.

The work-committee moved temporarily to the Household Science Building, where in the fall of 1914 a room had been set aside for students of the Women's Undergraduate Association of University College 'for the use of those who wish to sew or knit'. They linked up with women students of the other colleges and faculties in a joint work effort. In the fall of 1915 the workroom was moved to the Examination Hall which previously had been filled with engineering students' drafting tables. The work-committee yielded this space to the Training Depot at the end of 1916 and moved to a large room under the eaves in the Library where it remained until the end of the war. The packing committee operated out of the basement. The workroom had always had sewing machines and after the move to the Library 'several motor machines and a cutting machine were added'.

On Tuesdays the workroom was used by the University Women's Club to raise funds for purchasing materials. Other weekdays during term (except Thursdays) and once a week in summer between fifty and ninety women laboured from 9 am to 5 pm cutting and sorting and, in a separate space,

Women Sewing in Red Cross room, ca. 1915.

sewing. 'Thirteen sewing machines are kept on the hum in the midst of 40 or 50 women…Here they make wash cloths, pyjamas, pillow cases, bath robes, water bottle covers, and other things.' In November 1915 when the women students began to assist (they worked with the Red Cross, making supplies), the working hours were extended to six o'clock every night so that they could put in two hours of work after classes. These and other supplies were baled by the packing department and shipped out at the rate of a hundred bales a week.

Not all production took place in the Library. In the summer and fall of 1917 the East and West Halls of University College were, on alternate weekdays, invaded by forty to fifty women, 'most of them wives of doctors, professors, preachers, etc.…sitting at machines and making socks for the brave boys of the front'. Production increased during the summer with the loan of a sock-making machine that could turn out a sock every forty minutes. The Red Cross delivered them for immediate use in the trenches. In August the women faced the herculean task of filling a rush order for 20,000 caps. By October they had made five or six hundred.

In November 1917 the Association resumed making

surgical supplies in the Physics Building for the No. 4 General Hospital. In January 1918 another project was started to make supplies for the French Relief of the Secours National. The women worked four days a week in a large sunny workroom in the southwest corner of the Biological Building.

At Victoria College, Burwash Hall (the men's residence) started providing for the military in February 1916, when South House was turned over to NCOs and students who were not going to try the final exams. When the Overseas Training Company was created the following month, the Gate House became its orderly room, while the Hall itself was partially taken over as a barracks in June.

The fall of 1916 saw the military take over large portions of the campus. What Vincent Massey wrote of Victoria College — 'the majority of the men had marched away. Of the remainder most of those who could were preparing to follow' — applied across the campus. At Christmas, Massey, who commanded the District School of Musketry, arranged accommodation for its officers and NCOs in Burwash Hall, where they and the Overseas Training Company were soon to be joined by the Royal Flying Corps. 'In the year 1916-1917 quarters were provided in the Residences, from time to time, for as many as three hundred officers, NCO's and men who had taken over three of the four houses of Burwash Hall. Civilian life in this portion of Victoria at least, entirely disappeared.' 'By the summer of 1918 Burwash Hall was entirely under military control and much of the College grounds under canvas.' One of the OTC recruits under canvas was the young actor, Gene Lockhart, who had recently had his debut on Broadway.

In September 1916, the women students of University College celebrated the opening of their long-awaited Women's Union building at 95 St. George Street. Within two months, portions of it were being used by the Women's University Association of University College for VAD (Voluntary Aid Detachment) first aid courses. These classes ran on Wednesday and Thursday evenings in November and December, followed by home nursing classes after Christmas.

On 4 June 1918 the Women's Union was taken over for the summer by the YWCA to provide services for the men of the Royal Flying Corps and other military units quartered on campus. The lower floor was turned into a Hostess House to provide, for the first time on campus, a 'suitable place for the men to entertain their women relatives and friends'. It obviously served a need; 'the house was always crowded... Even the halls and stairways were utilized for reading and writing, while a most popular resort was the canteen, where almost a hundred dollars of ice-cream and soft drinks were consumed in one day'.

In November 1916 the military authorities applied to take over one of the houses of the University Men's Residence, now known as Devonshire House, at Christmas. President Falconer 'asked for volunteers from all the houses to resign their rooms so that the remainder could be accommodated in two houses. The volunteer system failed' and at a meeting of the students, they agreed the house masters would draw lots. East House lost; its fifty students were to vacate on 22 December for a hundred soldiers. When the students of North House returned in January, they discovered that the

Mural of a Belgian village at Hart House, designed by Lawren Harris and used by the School of Musketry for target practice, 1915.

military authorities had selected their residence for 'strategic reasons' and shifted the students' belongings over to East House.

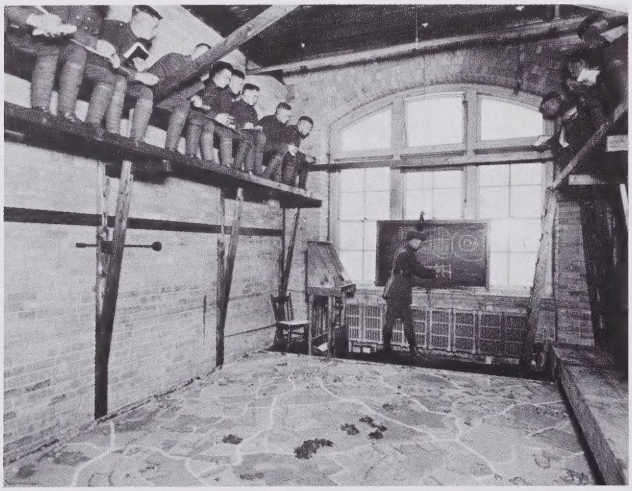
North House provided sleeping accommodation and offices for the Training Depot for non-commissioned officers who would be sent to Depot battalions. The Training Depot messed in the Examination Hall, and the Department of Militia constructed a kitchen against the west wall of the building and provided the necessary gas and water. The Training Depot was also given use of the Medical Building, the only one that had lecture rooms large enough for the entire number of men, and the grounds were made available for parade purposes. Accommodating it was made easier by a ten per cent drop in the fall registration in Medicine.

The unfinished Hart House – the walls were up and the roof on by the fall of 1914 but construction slowed to a snail's pace thereafter – was also turned over almost in its entirety to military purposes by the Massey Foundation. The Great Hall was used as a drill hall for a time, and what would become Hart House Theatre was used as a rifle range by the School of Musketry under Vincent Massey's command. For target practice, they used a panorama of a Belgian village designed by Lawren Harris, sandbagged from behind to protect the brickwork which still received the occasional stray bullet.

> Various parts of the building were used as lecture rooms in connection with the instructional work of the COTC ... when a branch of the Royal Flying Corps was established at Toronto, the gymnasia were used by this unit, a number of aeroplanes being set up for instructional purposes. During the latter part of the war and for some

time after…a large portion of the building was used by the medical services for the case of war casualties, the swimming pool being used for massage, while the lecture room and others were full of various machinery for 'occupational therapy'.

In March of 1917, as the campus began to be invaded by cadets of the Royal Flying Corps, the demand by the military for space on campus increased enormously. The Corps was headquartered in Wycliffe College from 19 November 1917 with the British Government covering the costs of housing 250 men there. This was made possible by over sixty of Wycliffe's students already being overseas. A separate entrance was erected to the west wing so the College could squeeze into it and the chapel. The RFC occupied the rest: the dining hall, lecture rooms, faculty room, offices, convocation hall, and seventy bedrooms, all of which stayed in its possession until 15 April 1919.



School of Military Aeronautics class on artillery observation in the Thermodynamics Building, 1917.

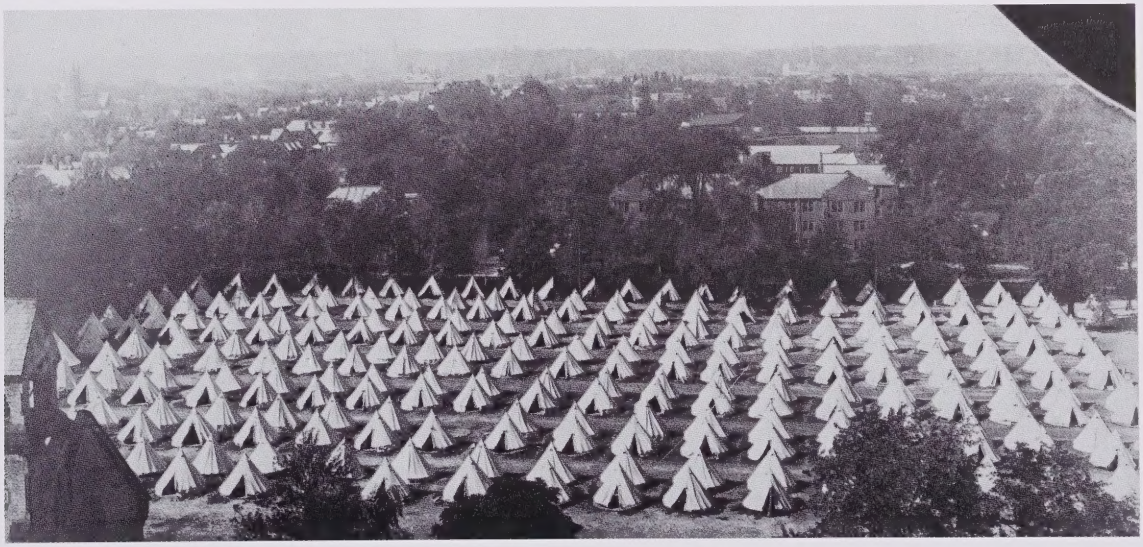
The RFC also took over the East and South Houses of the Men's Residence and replaced the Training Depot in the North House, while the cadets messed in the University Dining Hall and the Wycliffe College Dining Hall. During the summer of 1917, the Royal College of Dental Surgeons Building was taken over by the military to serve the dental needs of the Corps.

The cadets' practical work and lectures took place in the guise of the School of Military Aeronautics in the Engineering Building, where the now much-shrunken student body found in the fall of 1917 that 'our former lecture rooms, study rooms, and even our smoking rooms had been taken over by the invading hosts of the RFC'. It also took over the Thermodynamics Building, the Examination Hall, and part of Hart House. Returning engineering students had to squeeze in as best they could.

During the week of 20 May 1918, having filled all available buildings on campus, four hundred men of the Royal Air Force (formerly the Royal Flying Corps) who were attending the School of Military Aeronautics, were placed under canvas on the Back Campus. Forty-three seven-man tents were pitched, while ten were already in place at Burwash Hall 'where the lawns are already tramped down and the quadrangle is hard and brown'.

The old Knox College building on Spadina Circle was taken over by the military in March 1916 and turned into a residence for 250 invalided soldiers. Shortly thereafter it

Royal Flying Corps' tents on campus, 1918.



Physical rehabilitation of injured soldier in Hart House.

became the Spadina Military Hospital where, in 1918, Amelia Earhart served as a nurse's aide for the VAD, including ministering to patients during the Spanish flu epidemic. In the spring of 1917 Dr. Bott's experiments in the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers, which had begun the previous fall in his psychology lab in University College, expanded from one room to three before the program was moved into Hart House. In the fall term of 1918, as the male students began moving their athletic activities into Hart House, the Invalided Soldiers' Commission took over for rehabilitation purposes the vacated temporary gymnasium on what is now Trinity College's playing field. The ISC also opened offices in Room 27 in the Mining Building, the basement of which was given over, in 1918 and 1919, to the training of women as occupational therapists.

The new Knox College building, which formally opened in September 1915, was initially partly occupied by St. Andrew's College when its building was requisitioned by the Canadian Army Medical Corps for a hospital. Undergrads from other residences later moved into the 120 room residence as the military took over their rooms. A proposal in February 1918 to turn the building into a military hospital came to naught since the layout was not suitable.

At Trinity College, located in what is now Trinity Bellwoods Park, the number of male students was so reduced by the spring of 1915 that Trinity House, the undergraduate residence, was closed and a smaller building, known by the students as 'Jag House', was adapted to their needs. In 1918 there were fewer than twenty-six men in residence. Trinity House was adapted for convalescent soldiers, and the west wing of the College building was occupied for a time by two battalions of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, the 123rd (Royal Grenadiers) from Toronto, which began recruiting in 1915, and the 228th (Northern Fusiliers) from North Bay which was billeted at Trinity before being shipped out in December 1916. They used the playing fields for parades and the gymnasium for musketry drill. Officers' classes were held in Convocation Hall.

THE MEN'S DINING HALL

The University Dining Hall was located at the north end of the west wing (the former residence) of University College and consisted of two rooms with a total seating of 150. Violet Ryley had been its superintendent since 1910. The trials she faced illustrate the pressures placed on the University author-

ities as the war progressed. The first challenge —staffing — was due in part to enlistment. By the fall of 1915 nine of her staff of twenty-nine were serving overseas, and six men had not returned from summer employment on the Great Lakes where the pay was better. Wages doubled during the first three years of the war, but the University was slow in responding to the increased pay demands. While the Dining Hall provided rooms for some staff and meals, this was often not a sufficient inducement. Miss Ryley was able to get some help when President Falconer 'considerately allowed me to use waitresses in the Men's Dining Hall, whenever necessary, until the conclusion of the war'. Some retired staff also came back on a temporary basis.

Miss Ryley also had to contend with a fluctuating demand for meals which affected the balance sheet. The number served actually increased considerably during the first year of the war to over 227,000. This was largely due to an expanded summer session in July and August 1915 run by the Department of University Extension in conjunction with the Faculty of Education. The Dining Hall served the Men's Residence and the women's residence of Queen's Hall (7, 9 and 4 Queen's Park Crescent). The Dining Hall also drew students from the new Knox College, where the dining room was not completed until late in the year.

The following year, with many students enlisting and the loss of the Knox students, the number of meals served in the Dining Hall dropped by fifty thousand in spite of a much larger summer session. During the 1916-1917 academic year there was a further decline of twenty-eight thousand, partly because at Christmas 1916 the military took over North House of the Men's Residence. It would have been greater had women not been admitted to the Dining Hall during the academic year for the first time. In addition, rising costs forced Miss Ryley to ask for further appropriations from the Board of Governors and periodic increases in the price of meals so the Dining Hall would not run at a loss.

There was also the challenge of providing dining facilities for the military. In September 1915 Lieutenant-Colonel Lang of the COTC asked for use of the Men's Residence and the Dining Hall during the winter. Miss Ryley countered with a plan to accommodate both officers and students, stating 'it would be a pity to exclude them [the students], leaving them to board in places where their diet would not probably receive the same consideration'. The students were, unfortunately, soon to lose out to the demands of war.

Miss Ryley's problems with staff shortages and procuring foodstuffs increased in 1917 with a massive surge in the use of the Dining Hall. This occurred just as President Falconer seconded her part-time to the Military Hospitals Commission, obliging her to delegate duties to two staff but still keep an eye on them. The Royal Flying Corps arrived on campus near the end of the winter term and had exclusive use of the Dining Hall until 4 December 1918. A hundred cadets ate there daily during the summer of 1917 while during term between five hundred and six hundred were served over fifteen hundred meals in three sittings thrice daily. The staff had shrunk to fifteen from twenty-five in the winter term, so the cadets took turns waiting on tables. From 1 July 1918 to the end of September, an average of eighteen hundred meals a day were dished up, declining to 1,350 daily during the fall

term. The Dining Hall was returned to the students in January 1919.

IV

THE CANADIAN OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS

In 1909 President Falconer attempted to persuade the Canadian military to establish on campus an Officers' Training Corps based on the British model. It would be a worthy successor to K Company of the Queen's Own Rifles, the civilian militia that had existed at the University from the beginning of the American Civil War until 1891. There was certainly interest; the University of Toronto Rifle Association, which provided training in marksmanship, was the largest civilian rifle corps in Canada. The stumbling block was financial; the University would not agree to cover any costs and there had previously been no immediate sense of urgency. The hesitation was now replaced by a need for decisive action.

On 30 September 1914 Falconer made a formal offer to raise nine companies and to provide the necessary space on

Officers of the COTC and President Falconer on the steps of University College, 1915.

campus. It was quickly accepted in principle. Authorization to establish the University of Toronto Contingent of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps was given on 2 November, in effect from 15 October. The Department of Militia would meet half the cost of a drill hall and provide the instructors and uniforms for the Corps. On 19 October the President, smarting from criticisms that the university had not been doing its bit, held an assembly in Convocation Hall to announce the formation of the Contingent and to appeal for recruits for an authorized strength of a thousand men.

This announcement formalized what was already taking place. The UTRA had amended its constitution so it could accept enrollment and give instruction until the COTC was up and running. It created an officers' qualifying class to train enrollees and by mid-September a score of junior members of staff were taking drill and instruction to become lieutenants and captains. Students were invited to take courses which would qualify them for duties as sergeants and corporals. They would be organized and trained by University staff, led by Colonel W.F. Lang of Chemistry. The drill was led by George Bramfitt of Education who knew drill and elementary manoeuvres.

The first drill took place in the quadrangle of the Men's Residence with about ten staff present, as in August most were still away. Tommy Loudon, who taught civil engineering, recalled that 'we learnt how to turn right and left and about turn and then to "form fours". And then began simple manoeuvres! Forming fours, turning to the right and marching in columns of route was simple'. Then there followed two movements which always puzzled recruits; 'Into line, on the left form squad! and Change direction right, right form!'.

Within twenty-four hours of Falconer making his appeal, over five hundred students had enrolled in the Corps and the numbers increased rapidly. Engineering student Kent Duff wrote to his parents that, 'with the President and the profs and fellows all urging you, I could scarcely do otherwise'. In his faculty resisting was particularly difficult as the Engineering Society was assigned the task of recruiting undergraduates. It did so very effectively, with almost a hundred of the 539 students enrolling in the Rifle Association at the Society's meeting on 10 October. By the end of the academic year 497 students were enrolled in the COTC, the highest number in any faculty in any university in Canada. Students were under no obligation to go to the front, a point emphasized in the *Varsity*, though confusion over the interpretation of obligations lingered for some time.

Initially there were nine companies, two each for University College (A, B) and Victoria College (C, D), the faculties of Medicine (F, G) and Applied Science and Engineering (H, I), along with E Company for Wycliffe, Trinity, and St. Michael's Colleges. Three more were authorized on 14 December, two combined – Forestry and Applied Science (K), and the Faculty of Education and McMaster University (M) – and Dentistry (L). By February of 1915, the U of T Contingent, at 1,359 men, made it by far the largest COTC in Canada. By May the number had risen to 1,868.

Classes ended at 4:00 pm to facilitate training. The campus was alive throughout the fall and winter of 1914 with sixty-five per cent of the male students in squads marching,

Early COTC recruits in street clothes, posing with wooden 'rifles', winter 1915.

often getting in each other's way as they learned the fine points of the drill. In preparation for the Governor-General the Duke of Connaught's visit in January, drill was increased to every day, even in a foot of snow. The students initially marched without sufficient arms and no uniforms; the former were lent by the Rifle Association or borrowed. Uniforms were promised but slow in arriving. Roy Rankin, a medical student, wrote to his parents at the beginning of January that 'our uniforms haven't come yet but expect them any time now. We get uniform, cap and greatcoat. That will be a great saving in clothes as we wear them all the time'. Regrettably, they did not arrive until the third week of March, and some men still did not have them at the end of the academic year.

There were also 'field days' and all-day marches out of the city along the Don River and St. Clair Avenue. In November 1914 Kent Duff, with his fellow engineers and the 'Dents', went on one such outing. They left the campus at 8:45 am, 'marched off up Avenue Road and after sampling different kinds of pavements – and mud!, we reached…the Don Valley…about 5 miles from home'. They then did a drill until time for lunch, which cost a quarter. There followed a sham fight where some of the cadets defended a 'fort' in the river and the rest attacked, Kent being with the latter. He detailed the manoeuvres they made, fording the river and advancing 'by short rushes, and, lying down behind what cover was available, we fired, (or pretended to fire, as we had no real bullets) on the enemy who kept retiring…We must have done nearly 20 miles altogether'. He got a lot wetter and muddier than he let on to his mother and 'My braces (old ones) broke in the middle of the afternoon, and I had difficulty keeping my pants up…The parade was accompanied by a couple of cavalry dispatch bearers, two motor cycles, ditto a signal corps and bugle band, besides a couple of automobiles and an express wagon, the former to carry the officers, and the latter, the grub'. In the fall of 1915 a rotation of route marches and field days was held over eight Saturdays, the latter taking place at Cedarvale and in Leaside.

COTC training at Camp Niagara, May 1915.

Not all students could participate. 'Americans, French, Russians, etc. and [those] not naturalized...would not have the privilege of wearing the King's uniform'. Students who were naturalized citizens, but had been born in Central Europe, were questioned in advance of being permitted to drill. In 1917 David Eisen, a medical student born in Austria, wrote in his diary that a new Government regulation stipulated that 'Canadian citizens who had been born in enemy countries and been naturalized after 1902...could not serve in the Armed Forces. Hence I was excluded from military drill...asked...to turn in my uniform', which he had been given two weeks before, 'and report for gymnasium on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 4:30 pm. I am not happy about this. I would have preferred continuing military drill in the open rather than physical exercise in the dusty old gymnasium'.

Students had the option of enlisting at once, as did Norman Bethune. Most others, such as Frederick Banting, Hume Wrong, Lester Pearson, Frank Underhill, and Raymond Massey (brother to Vincent) elected to complete their year before enlisting. A student might choose basic training which demanded at least forty instructional parades of forty-five minutes each, changing to three times a week in the fall of 1915. Or he could pursue a 'proficiency' candidacy for officer qualification that involved weekly lectures, including special instruction in musketry and signalling. In 1916 instruction was also given in firing practice as facilities permitted. Extensive readings were assigned and written examinations were mandatory. Successful candidates received a Certificate 'A' leading to a lieutenant's commission. Of those who wrote the Certificate 'A' examinations in March of 1915 only 153, or less than a quarter, passed.

The students looked forward to a fortnight's training at Niagara-on-the-Lake at the beginning of May, 1915. But the

Department of Militia was very late with its promise to proceed so that only seven hundred of the eighteen hundred members of the COTC, including a few professors, took part. They lived under canvas and between reveille at 6:00 am and lights out at 10:15 pm, were instructed in rifle practice, 'extended order drill, advancing under fire, closing in and charging with bayonets'. Included was a good amount of battalion drill and two days of field manoeuvres. They also took their practical exams for proficiency certificate. Though successful, the experiment was not repeated as circumstances were dramatically different in the following years.

The 1915-1916 academic year began with better qualified officers and more recruits who had done drill. But there was a major depletion of the COTC's ranks. There were fewer men initially – only 640 old members returned – and 1,141 new ones were added. In July 1915 a thirteenth company ('N') was authorized and accounted for about four hundred of this figure. It was dubbed the University Club Company as it was composed of graduates in Toronto. N Company began training alongside the undergraduate companies in November. Two affiliated colleges, the Ontario Veterinary College and the Ontario Agricultural College, were also admitted to the Contingent. The Vets enrolled in H Company, while the two OAC companies trained in Guelph.

The decision of the British War Office in November 1915 to accept members as candidates for commissions in the Imperial Army was a much appreciated vote of confidence. Sixty-six men were selected by the Chief of the General Staff on the recommendation of President Falconer. This gesture certainly helped a new call for recruits at the end of the year; 'as many as sixty a week…enlisted as privates in local battalions, transferred to specialized corps, or took commissions in the Canadian and Imperial Forces'. At the end of the academic year only 791 remained in good standing.

The second major development was a loss of camaraderie as men left on active service and as officers such as Lang, Vincent Massey, and LePan were assigned duties elsewhere. Then, too, 'the novelty of military training had long since palled, and the once keen enthusiasm and sense of adventure seemed out of place' as the casualty lists grew. By early 1916, the role of the COTC as it stood was being questioned. 'It did not entail enlistment for overseas…, it dispersed its members instead of keeping them together in one Varsity unit, it trained officers for the infantry, a branch of the service with waning appeal'. The most popular alternative, initially, was artillery. Then, in the spring of 1916 notices went up in the Engineering Building 'asking for recruits to go as Naval reserve volunteers to operate auxiliary motor boats to chase subs'. With the arrival of the Royal Flying Corps on campus in 1917 and the call for recruits to a tank battalion in 1918, even more non-infantry opportunities opened up.

The Students' Administrative Council, with President Falconer's approval, held a series of meeting that resulted in recommendations that men going overseas as commissioned officers or NCOs could do so through an Overseas Training Company, 'while those preferring the artillery could form a battery to consist, as much as possible, of Varsity recruits'. Falconer strongly supported these proposals and the Militia Department authorized both an Overseas Training Company and the 67th (Varsity) Battalion. He also asked

Sidney Childs, the president of SAC, to raise a fund for equipping these units. Childs obtained subscriptions for the Military Equipment Fund from about forty Toronto businesses and the ever-generous Mrs. Sarah Warren, a stalwart supporter of 'efforts for the relief and comfort of our soldiers and their dependants'. He raised $3,200, half of which was directed to the commanding officers of the units.

During the fall of 1916, a number of significant administrative changes reduced the COTC's role at the University. The old curriculum was set aside, instruction was restricted to first-year men and academic credits were allowed only for those men and students who had not previously drilled with the Corps. Others wishing to do so (few were anticipated) could still receive instruction. Military training for all male undergraduates was made compulsory. A Department of Military Studies was created in the University, headed by Colonel Lang. Medical exams became compulsory and male students found unfit were directed to the Department of Physical Training. The curriculum leading to Certificate 'A' was dropped and the emphasis shifted to barrack square drill 'for the purpose of inculcating discipline and smartness, and physical and bayonet training which is of great value as a "setting up" exercise'. In other words, to get men prepared for the sharp end of the war with as little delay as possible.

THE UNIVERSITY OVERSEAS TRAINING COMPANY

Another factor in the decline of the COTC was the emergence of the Overseas Training Company in the spring of 1916. It was organized 'strictly on an overseas basis with regard to enlistment, obligations and pay' and its chief function was to provide candidates for commission in the British Army as part of the Imperial drafts. Its formation was approved on 21 March, with Captain George Needler of A Company of the COTC appointed Officer Commanding and Captain Malcolm Wallace of B Company his second-in-command. They moved from the Mining Building to establish an orderly room in the Gate House in Burwash Hall at Victoria College, with the men going into barracks in Burwash in June.

Recruits were to be university-level men between nineteen and thirty, physically fit, and unmarried. They would be trained only for infantry, taking the course for the lieutenant's grade (it was advised but not mandatory that they write the exam), then shipped to Britain for further training as cadets. There, if they had the qualifications, they could go into another branch of the services such as artillery.

No instruction was given for any branch of non-combatant work. Training was much tougher than with the COTC, consisting of daily physical drill, extended order work, musketry, bayonet-fighting, signalling, guard and sentry duty, three or four lectures a week, and a weekly Field Day consisting of route marches of fifteen to eighteen miles or more for tactical exercises at Cedarvale or Leaside. During the summer some men attended special courses at Camp Borden or wrote the lieutenant's examination at the School of Infantry. In 1916 half the Company consisted of already qualified officers who had come in for further training.

The recruits to the Company increased as the war pro-

The Overseas Training Company learning to dig trenches in Forest Hill, 1918.

gressed, from ninety-six men in September 1916 to 218 at the end of December 1917. By 1918 the Company's primary function was to 'supply n.c.o'.s and instructors for the battalions of draftees'. By war's end 1,053 men had received training, of whom 326 had received the coveted Imperial commissions. 197 commissions had been spread through the Royal Flying Corps, the Royal Naval Air Force, and the Canadian Naval Air Service. Though the training was rigorous, only thirty-three were discharged as medically unfit. Twenty-seven were killed in action or died of wounds and four were still missing. Eleven were given military honours, including three who had been killed, M.A.D. Davis, H.A. Mossman, and S.W. Rosevear.

In April of 1918 the Government announced it would create a Canadian Tank Battalion of eighty-seven officers and seven hundred men at Canadian universities. The OTC undertook to recruit one of the three companies of 214 officers and men, and in September was also asked to recruit fifty men as reinforcements. To do so it stopped all of its regular training and courses for officers at the School of Infantry. Applicants had to meet the same requirements as for the OTC and all recruits were subject to a personal interview in the Orderly Room.

Applications flooded in so quickly that all positions were filled within two weeks. In particular, the OTC looked for recruits with an engineering background. A good number of otherwise well-qualified Americans were rejected because of their citizenship. Ironically, one of the first students to apply was Rudolph Mueller, the eldest of Professor Mueller's sons who had been subjected to the verbal abuse of Principal Hagarty at Harbord Collegiate; he was accepted. Anyone wanting to use the Tank Corps as a stepping stone to the Royal Engineers was told he could not do so without a full degree in engineering. Transfers from the COTC, the Royal Flying Corps, and even the Canadian Army were granted, provided releases were given and openings were available. On more than one occasion a highly qualified over-age applicant

University of Toronto 1st Tank Battalion May 1918.

was accepted on the understanding there would be no Imperial Commission (the authorities resolutely refused to accept anyone over thirty years of age), but the possibility of a Canadian one remained. Consideration was given to at least one married man whose skills the Tank Battalion needed.

The ninety-two officers and 716 men of the 1st Canadian Tank Battalion arrived in Britain on 21 June 1918 and headed for the Imperial Tank Training Camp at Bovington in Dorset. By the time the Battalion was ready to leave for France the Armistice was signed so it never saw action. Nor did the 2nd Canadian Tank Battalion.

In September, 1918 the OTC supplied thirty-one men for the Canadian Siberian Force which was shipped to Vladivostok in a vain effort to counter the new Bolshevik government. The men were 'selected to make expert machine-gunners of themselves. We simply chose 25 by ballot, and then a few more asked to be included in the group'. The following month the OTC was hard hit by the Spanish flu that affected a third of its strength with one fatality. By the time the epidemic had abated, the war was over and the OTC received its demobilization orders on 20 November.

THE IMPERIAL ROYAL FLYING CORPS

Overseas Training Company recruits had been joining the Imperial Royal Flying Corps in Britain for some months before it established a training centre for Canada with headquarters in Toronto with a branch at the U of T, at Wycliffe College. Recruiting began on 9 February 1917 and a whole course lasted about four and a half months. The cadets were attached to the OTC before being sent to flying camps at

Royal Flying Corps plane on Front Campus.

Borden and Desoronto at the end of April. There 'they learned drill and discipline, or in short, to learn to be a soldier for eight weeks, then were sent into Toronto for technical training'.

The presence of the Corps gave the campus a very different atmosphere than even the Training Depot and the Overseas Training Company had. The sheer numbers exceeded anything else seen before. Training to be *airmen* seemed much more glamorous than the prospect of tramping through the mud of Flanders; the danger (the death rate was

very high) added an extra frisson of excitement. Their distinctive caps also set them apart. An American later recalled that 'we even learned to carry swagger sticks as required of all RFC cadets'.

At the beginning of January 1918, the *Telegram* reported that 'a truck load of trunks being unceremoniously bumped up the ecclesiastical steps of Wycliffe College signalled the arrival of more Flying Corps men'. One look inside 'showed how completely the academic atmosphere had departed. It did not require a temperature well below zero to make it appear the barracks it had temporarily become, with military boots clumping heavily where previously only the sedate sound of softly treading professors and theological students were wont to be heard'. One of the cadets 'clumping about' the summer of 1918 was William Faulkner, who had come up from Mississippi, having been recruited in July through the British Consulate in New York City.

The loss of the Men's Residence, the Dining Hall, and much classroom and student club space to the Corps had a greater impact on the student body than previous military incursions. The students had long since lost their playing fields to the COTC. With the appearance of RFC tents on the Back Campus and at Victoria College in the summer of 1918, the University took on even more of a military air.

The technical training courses of the No. 4 School of Military Aeronautics were based largely in the Engineering Building, in Hart House, and in the Examination Hall which had space for courses such as lectures in rigging. The School came to be very highly regarded. Professors in Applied Science volunteered their services until it was fully operational. A large number of instructors were brought to Canada, including several staff who had served at the Front, to teach an intensive six-week course. The cadets were trained in lots of seven hundred in courses of about two hundred to be pilots and equipment officers. Detailed instruction was given in

> aero-engines [and carburetors], rigging of machines, aerial gunnery and observations, bombing, types of bombs and reconnaissance. Photography and aerial observations is an important item as it is through the aeroplanes that the artillery gets its range. Lectures are given in theory of flight, map reading, cross-country flying, night flying, military law.

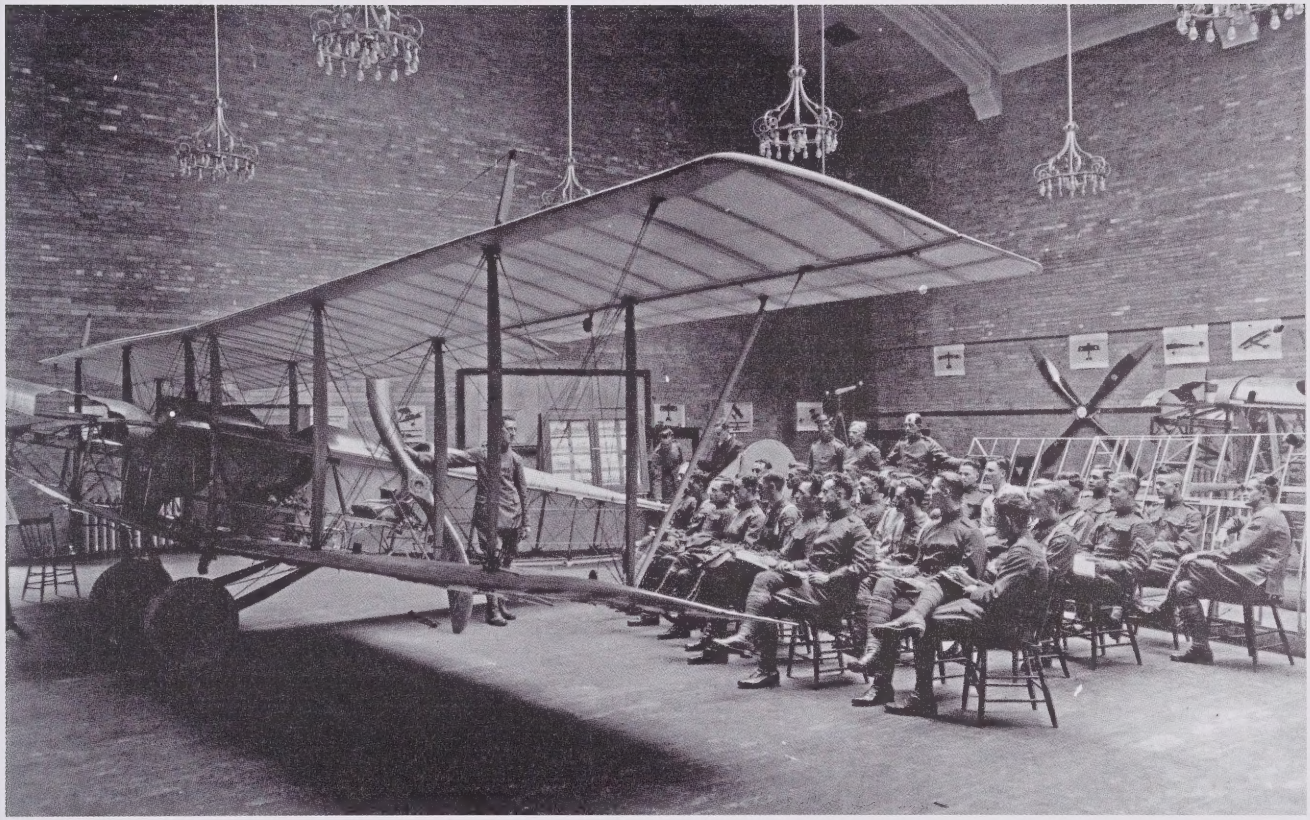
A number of aeroplanes (or parts thereof) were set up around the campus for instructional purposes, and in the gymnasiums of Hart House the cadets 'mastered the principles of engine and aircraft construction by stripping down an old Curtis Jenny and re-assembling it again'. The courses ran weekdays and Saturday mornings and were followed by a written exam consisting of five papers on their subjects and 'a proficiency in the signaling test of six words per minute and a similar speed reading messages by means of a device called a panneau'. Even leisure and fitness was combined; the cadets were drilled in boxing several nights a week under a professional boxing instructor.

After exams were completed the cadets had their first lessons in flying. Thomas Chapman was one of the American Navy cadets training with the RFC. At Desoronto, on his first

Thomas Chapman (fourth from left, back row) and fellow cadets of the Royal Flying Corps, 1917.

solo flight, he flew a plane with which he was unfamiliar. 'We were the Black Cat Squadron and after each crash the upraised right paw of the cat [on the fuselage] was marked with a white stripe. My plane had eight…already and one more would finish the proverb'. On heading for the 'grassy surface of the runway' he discovered the curved roof of the hangar was 'a bit too high for my wing to pass over. I quickly found myself an integral part of that roof'. Advanced flight school at Camp Borden followed.

While the majority of the cadets in the Corps were Canadians, the Naval cadets were not the only Americans present. During the summer of 1917 a large number from Fort Riley in Kansas, part of the ten American squadrons that trained in Canada that summer, arrived at the University and



School of Military Aeronautics class on rigging in the Examination Hall, 1917.

were placed in Convocation Hall until rooms were ready for them in Hart House, where construction had been speeded up to accommodate them. They took over nearly the whole of the north side of Hart House. In May of 1918, four hundred more cadets arrived and most were put under canvas on the Back Campus and at Burwash Hall.

On 22 November 1918 The Royal Flying Corps, now the Royal Air Force, and the whole of the No. 4 School of Military Aeronautics assembled in front of University College for a demobilization photo, recorded by photographer C. W. Latta in a magnificent panoramic.

THE POLISH ARMY IN TRAINING AT NIAGARA

Poland had not existed as an autonomous country for over 120 years when the Great War began, but the flame of independence had never died. Polish leaders in the United States now saw an opportunity to realize their goal and set about recruiting a nascent army. They scoured the towns and cities with the largest Polish populations, but the recruits were not allowed to drill there, either while the United States was at peace with Germany, or after she declared war on 6 April 1917. The declaration of the President of France on 4 June creating a Polish National Army added a sense of urgency. So Canada opened its borders to Polish Army recruits. By war's end, 22,395 recruits had been received in the camps set up at Niagara-on-the-Lake, of whom only 221 were Canadian. Of these, 20,720 were sent on draft to France.

The kingpin in University of Toronto's association with the Polish Army was Arthur D'Orr LePan, assistant superintendent of buildings and grounds and one of the founding officers of the U of T contingent of the COTC. On 3 January 1917, when he received twenty-three recruits wishing to qualify as officers, he was in charge of Military District No. 2's School of Infantry. The numbers grew over the summer, with training at Camp Borden, almost entirely in Polish. On 22 September the unit was moved to a camp at Niagara to be near the anticipated influx from the United States and became the School of Infantry, Polish Army.

Lt-Col. LePan, his bushy eyebrows perched above his distinctive moustache, arrived on the 28th to open the Camp. A reporter who visited it the following month saw how 'a big

Polish flag (in dark maroon colour with a silver eagle in one corner) hangs near Camp Headquarters…and under it is a big sign bearing the words, "To Berlin to free Poland'". Five wooden barracks were quickly erected but they held only 1,200 men. The flood of recruits across the border started on 10 October and reached 4,300 in six weeks, so additional accommodation had to be found. By the beginning of December fifteen other billets had been established in and around town: the Town Hall, 'tents, barns, private homes, and an old cannery'. The inhabitants, for the most part welcoming, had never experienced anything like this Polish 'invasion'.

To manage the Camp the military drew heavily on officers from the U of T COTC. They included the Camp adjutant, Major Clarence R. Young (Applied Science), and the commanding officers of the three Depot Battalions: Henry H. Madill (Architecture), William F. Kirk (school principal) and Frederick B. Kenrick (Chemistry). Until mid-summer 1918 instruction was given in British drill with English and Polish commands; thereafter in French drill with instruction

in English and Polish. Most of the training was carried out by acting Polish officers and NCOs under the supervision of Canadian officers. Major Young observed that with officers who had been accustomed 'to seeing men jump to the explosive "Squad Shun", it is perhaps unexpected that anything should happen when there rang out over the field "Zasteep, Bacz - N.O.S.C."' The Canadian officers also stumbled over unfamiliar names like 'Cieozcayk, Grzeczuk, Kolodriejczyk, Krzy, Zanowski, Przybylowiez'.

In September 1918, the Spanish flu hit the Camp and twenty-four men perished. They were buried in St. Vincent de Paul Cemetery, along with seventeen who died from other causes. The last Polish occupants of the Camp left on 11 March 1919 and it closed soon after.

V

THE CANADIAN ARMY MEDICAL CORPS AND THE NO. 4 CANADIAN GENERAL HOSPITAL

Before the University created formal medical units, graduates and some students signed up with the Canadian Army Medical Corps which, during the course of the war, established sixteen general and ten stationary hospitals for Canadians fighting overseas. The first Ambulance Corps that left Toronto on 31 August 1914 contained some of these men. In January of 1915 the CAMC offered second- and third-year medical students positions as orderlies to go the Front at once with a subsidiary hospital that was waiting to leave from the military camp at Exhibition Place.

Early in February 1915 the U of T was officially asked to provide young medical men to staff a Casualty Clearing Station to care for front line soldiers who had been slightly wounded, and to give first aid to those who had been badly wounded and would have to be moved out. Dr. Wallace Scott, who headed the Station, drew his assistants from third-, fourth-, and fifth-year Medicine. They would receive commissions in the British Army and the U of T would grant them their degrees 'after taking full cognizance of the class standing of each student'. The students' first challenge was to make a study of the meningitis outbreak at Exhibition Camp. When the Station reached England it was broken up and the students, commissions in hand, were attached to other services. 'It required a good deal of patriotism and faith on the part of these young physicians, as they went to the front clearly understanding that the work...might not prove to be medical or surgical work but...[that] performed by a species of glorified orderly'.

Later in February the U of T offered the military a base hospital as part of the casualty evacuation chain, further back from the front lines than casualty clearing stations. It would have 1,040 beds, the minimum military requirement. The University realized that the spring offensive on the Western Front would lead to 'very large casualties for which hospital equipment should be provided at once'. Authority was received on 26 March and the Hospital, called the No. 4 Canadian General Hospital in military circles and on campus

Officers of No.4 C.G.H. returning with trophies after visiting wreck of Zeppelin at Vardar. May 1916.

usually the Base Hospital unit, was manned and dispatched to England on 15 May.

The nurses spent time at the military hospitals in England and in northern France before assembling in London and sailing for the Mediterranean on 15 October 1915. The officers were on one ship headed for Alexandria where the British had military hospitals and a huge stores depot. They knew nothing of the whereabouts of the nursing sisters who were on another ship and 'compared themselves to the Flying Dutchman, sailing here and there without any knowledge of their proper destinations. They were in Malta [where there were two hospitals and 200 hospital ships] for a time, then went to the island of Lemnos [medical stores were dispensed from Mudros to the hospital ships], to Salonica, Malta, and again to Salonica'.

The medical officers reached Salonika by hospital ship on 9 November and set up in tents several miles out, wedged between swampy ground on one side and an Ordnance depot on the other. Facing unusual cold and strong winds (humorously dubbed 'balmy breezes' back in Toronto), they had to contend with flattened tents and frostbite. Adding to the difficulties was a deficient water supply and frequent aerial bombardments. After one particularly uncomfortable raid in January 1916, when a shell casing fell through the sisters' mess tent and two of the cooks climbed into their ovens, the staff built dugouts for the nurses and painted the tents brown. The defence against these raids was warships and anti-aircraft batteries which, in the early morning of 5 May 1916, caught a Zeppelin in their search lights and shot it down. An unintended consequence was the accidental drowning of medical

Dug-out in process of construction, No.4 C.G.H. January 1916.

officer Norman Yellowlees who rode out on horseback to view the wreck.

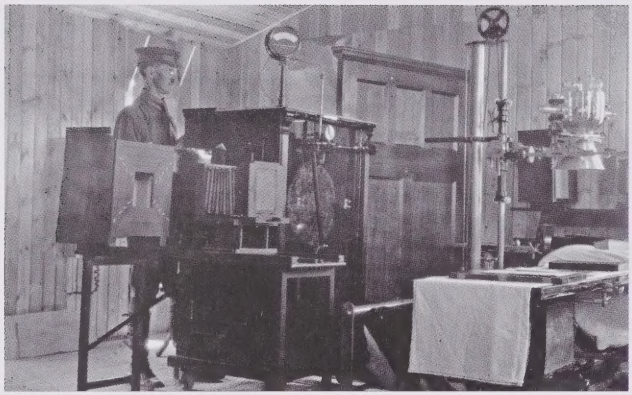
In the spring of 1916 the Hospital moved to higher ground east of Salonika and into solid wooden huts, described as 'a magnificent group of buildings...absolutely new', which had been designed for their first site but not built because of military indecision over where the Hospital would finally be located. Malaria appeared early each summer, followed by stifling heat. Though the Hospital was located a considerable distance from actual battles, the air raids continued to be a concern.

The medical officers got to Salonika first, and immediately had reason to miss the nurses. On 14 November as they were still setting up, soldiers were brought in from the 'Retreat from Serbia'. Dr. Harris McPhedran described them as 'fearfully filthy. They say the Servian frontier is worse than Gallipoli as they get soaking wet and cannot get their clothes dry for days'. The next day he faced 150 patients, almost all medical cases. 'I am still the only one in charge...all I can do is simply to diagnose and treat...Sent in a list of 50 patients to be sent to Alexandria tomorrow'.

On the 16th the nurses began to arrive, much to Dr. McPhedran's relief. 'They will soon make a change in the way things are run in the ward as they are all old hands at the game & will know just how to take hold of the work'. Canadian nurses, unlike their British counterparts, were designated military officers: 'they will have no trouble with orderlies refusing to obey orders and there will be no talking back or questioning of work required from them'. The next day he recorded with satisfaction that the Misses Morris and Carter assigned to his wards 'are both capable girls. They are certainly setting things to rights'.

Early in the summer of 1916 Dr. McPhedran came down with malaria and on 8 July was 'boarded' on a hospital ship bound for Alexandria, much to the relief of his wife. A redoubtable woman, she had for months been trying to get him back to England. She wrote President Falconer who wisely handed the issue to Dr. Clarke. He wrote to Roberts, 'No doubt the President wrote to you about H. McPhedran ... Evidently the "wife" is an important factor in many of these transfers. We have decided to take no notice without positive instructions from you'.

The Hospital's medical, laboratory, X-ray and dental departments were always bustling. Some of the medical officers were experienced experimentalists and researchers, so



Interior of X ray hut with Lieut. McTaggart.

Interior operating tent, No.4 C.G.H. Salonika, December 1915.

the laboratories and X-ray department did work for the surrounding hospitals and became a scientific centre for the district. The well-equipped dental department, for a long time the only one in the district, served over 100,000 British troops. It was kept extremely busy as 'the condition of the teeth of the men in the army is awful, even horrible'. Most of the Hospital's cases were medical rather than battle related — 'malaria [thousands of cases], blackwater fever, pneumonia ...rheumatism', along with a good number of more serious injuries, 'falls from horses, motor accidents and gun shot wounds'. The work done by the doctors and nurses was highly regarded, with praise even reaching the British House of Commons.

Administrative management of the Hospital was not without issues. C.K. Clarke, Dean of Medicine, was responsible for the University of Toronto end and Lieutenant-Colonel J.A. Roberts, who had worked under him, was in charge at Salonika. They faced a myriad of problems, including missing shipments, interference from other hospitals trying to snare medical personnel, and distance, compounded by slow (a letter regularly took six weeks but could take four months to reach its destination) and lost correspondence and military censorship. It is a credit to those in charge that the system worked as well as it did.

Over time conflicting priorities crept into the picture and created tensions between the University and Roberts. Late in 1916 a number of doctors and nurses were invalided out, only to be replaced by 'young, inexperienced medical officers' with no U of T connections, resulting in diminished efficiency and a loss of the identity of the University with the Hospital. This caused great unease amongst University officials. In March 1917 Clarke wrote that 'some very grave misunderstandings had arisen between Colonel Roberts and ourselves and we were never able to fathom the reason why'. This he later attributed to Roberts not really caring much about the University connection, preferring a military organ-

No. 4 C.G.H. Salonika, May, 1916.Officers Parsons, King-Smith, Hunter, Roberts, Primrose, Balfour, Hendry, MacKenzie, Watson.

ization without regard to personnel. Such, apparently, was not quite the case; Roberts claimed that he tried to get U of T medical officers but was sent whomever was available and was not notified until after they had sailed. Another thorny issue was that of supplies unaccounted for – the military handled the transport, and tracing wandering shipments was a logistical nightmare – causing some donors to strike the Hospital off their list. Rightly or wrongly, some of the blame for this was placed on Roberts's shoulders.

At end of January 1917, with Roberts on sick leave, his successor, Dr. W.B. Hendry, who formally succeeded him in October, received notice that the Hospital would be transferred to England. In the meantime, the staff soldiered on. By early March there were over eleven hundred patients, some of whom had been moved from other hospitals that were targets of air raids. The number rose to fourteen hundred daily in June, by which time the Hospital had located or received most of its 'missing' supplies. In July Dr. Hendry reported that, while the Hospital's efficiency had decreased, it was still regarded as the best hospital at Salonika. 'We now have a staff consisting of Canadian, British Regular and Territorial officers, Canadian, Imperial and V.A.D. nurses and Canadian and Imperial men...it is the intention of the D.D.M.S. to attach two lady doctors to the staff. You can imagine what a crazy-quilt of a unit this has come to be'.

In mid-August, most of the Hospital staff left for England. Clarke, having read the papers, wrote to Hendry, 'I suspect you have run out of amusements because I notice that John Mallock or some other inflammable person has burned down the greater part of that high-smelling city of yours'. Hendry shot back that while 'the Canadians certainly left in a blaze of glory...we never for a moment suspected that the inhabitants would celebrate the occasion to the extent of burning down the town'. He emphasized that the fire started the day *after* the staff had sailed and that those left behind had helped fight the blaze, 'transporting refugees and their belongings from the danger zone...saving many people from the catastrophe and protecting some buildings'. The fire burned from the 18th to the 20th of August, leaving 'over sixty thousand people homeless, eighty percent of whom were Jews'.

The remainder of the Unit left Salonika on 17 September, its ship forming part of a convoy that reached England three weeks later, 'in driblets, travelling at night...on account of the dangers from submarines' after a dodging voyage. The No. 4 General Hospital was re-established in Basingstoke, Hampshire, and in November was treating a thousand

patients. A month later Hendry reported that 'the work of completing the hospital and getting it into shape in all the departments is proceeding very slowly'. Significantly, the close connection to the University was re-established and there was a steady flow of medical officers back and forth. The Hospital maintained its high reputation and operated at capacity (two thousand patients) during the active military campaigns in the spring and summer of 1918. It closed in June 1919 and received a formal welcome home at Convocation Hall in July.

VI

SERVING OVERSEAS

There were no University of Toronto companies as such; men enlisted with their fellow students, friends, or relatives in the almost three hundred infantry and other battalions of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, its rifle regiments, or in specialized ancillary units such as field and heavy artillery batteries and, for example, the Divisional Signalling Corps which took forty students at once from across the university in February 1916. Students with specialized training were in demand in ambulance, medical, dental, forestry, and other corps. Others joined the labour, tunnelling, cyclist, and service corps. Some students and faculty and a good number of graduates served with the Imperial forces.

In the autumn of 1914 and early 1915, as the Second Division was forming, many of the students enlisting 'joined the units in training at Exhibition Camp, specially the 4th Artillery Brigade, the 19th Battalion, the Divisional Cyclists, and the Eaton Machine Gun Battery'. Some who joined up never made it out of Toronto. Cyclist David Haig, for example, died of spinal meningitis during the outbreak at Exhibition Camp in May 1915.

Canadian troops made extensive use of bicycles for their mobility and the rapid transport of men and supplies. The Second Division and the other three (1st, 3rd and 4th) that went overseas in 1914 and 1915 each had a cyclist unit to carry out intelligence work with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. In 1916 they were reorganized into the Canadian Corps Cyclist Battalion. The cyclists received intensive training in England and, from 1916 on in particular, spent from four to six weeks in the lines under intense fire. During the last hundred days of the war the Corps came into its own as it provided vital links between the infantry and cavalry.

Most soldiers who enlisted as cyclists did not remain with the Corps; once they received their commissions they moved on. Clifford Ellis Rogers, who had studied Arts and Engineering, was one who remained. Only five who were recruited as cyclists are recorded as having been killed, two during those last hundred days. By then James Campbell Sorley was with the Royal Air Force. The last one to die was Rogers, who was hit by a gas shell on 7 November while serving on the road from Valenciennes to Mons.

One of the cyclists with the Second Canadian Division was Norman Hoyles Daniel who trained for two months at Dibgate Camp at Shorncliffe, England before getting his commission. He compiled a carefully annotated and exten-

sive photographic record of his time there. One of his fellow cyclists whom he snapped was Jim Sorley. Soldiers of the 19th and 20th Battalions, also stationed at Shorncliffe, figure prominently.

Many of the 158 present and former staff of the University that enlisted served overseas, including a number from the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering. One was T.R (Tommy) Loudon whose expertise in civil engineering was a good fit with No. 1 Canadian Construction Battalion (1st Battalion of the Canadian Railway Troops from January 1918). The railway troops laid lines on the heels of advances, moving up ammunition and rations, and brought back casualties. Loudon saw action in the first battle of the Somme in 1916, the first German retreat to the Hindenburg Line and at Cambrai (where tanks were brought forward by rail) in 1917, Ostend, Ypres, and Passchendaele. He was invalided out in May 1918.

Velyien Henderson, who taught pharmacology, served as musketry officer of the COTC and commanded L Company (Dentistry), one of the largest. He was roundly criticized at the beginning of 1916 when he stated that the University population the next year would consist of 'women, medically unfit, and "slackers"', but got off with a 'mild detraction' in the *Varsity*. He enlisted in the 198th (Buffs) Battalion in February, 1916 but it was later broken up. He then joined the CAMC. When he finally reached France in June 1918 he served with the 14th Canadian Field Ambulance.

THE UNIVERSITIES COMPANIES, PRINCESS PATRICIA'S CANADIAN LIGHT INFANTRY

This Regiment was not a territorial unit and had no special source from which new recruits could be drawn. It had seen action early in 1915 and was in need of reinforcements just before the U of T contingent of the COTC was preparing to

Toronto Platoon of the Second University Company, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, June 28 1915.

head to Niagara camp. Therefore, an Overseas Company raised in McGill University accompanied its COTC contingent to Niagara Camp with the U of T Corps. As Canadian universities had generally agreed to support the Princess Pats, the U of T Corps agreed thereafter to help with the recruitment.

The first two companies were recruited and in France in July and October 1915 respectively. The Toronto recruits were the responsibility of Edward Kylie of the Department of History who had organized and trained E Company of the COTC in 1914-1915. He was the local recruiting officer for University Companies reinforcing the PPCLI until he was appointed captain and adjutant to the 147th (Grey County) Battalion in November 1915. His death of pneumonia in May of 1916 was received as devastating news at the U of T where he was very highly regarded.

Lieutenants George M. Smith and Galen Hagarty, the son of Principal Hagarty of Harbord Collegiate, were chosen

67th Battery C.F.A., July 1916.

to command platoons. Hagarty, a popular engineering graduate in the 1915 spring convocation, sailed overseas shortly after the Niagara Camp closed. He was an instructor in the Canadian Machine Gun Corps at Shorncliffe until early 1916 when he went to France. He was offered a place in his father's own battalion (Lt.-Col. Hagarty was desperate to get him out of harm's way) but was killed by a shell at Sanctuary Wood in Belgium on 2 June before details could be finalized. His father suffered a nervous breakdown and soon after resigned his commission.

By the autumn of 1916 six companies had been recruited from across Canada. The Regiment fought at Sanctuary Wood and major battles such as Vimy and Passchendaele. By 1918 the number of U of T men remaining was much reduced. Some were killed during the last push of the war, one of the last to fall being Douglas Schell. He was killed in action at Bourlon Wood on 28 September and was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal

for his leadership in an action a month earlier. A few men reached Mons on 11 November.

THE 67TH (VARSITY) BATTERY

As soon as the 67th (Varsity) Battery was formed in April 1916 recruitment proceeded rapidly. The first recruits were disappointed to learn that it would be a depot battery, that they could not go to France as a unit. But they would train together, often over several months and there was the added attraction that the commanding officer was always a Varsity man.

Three drafts had been recruited by the fall and in October President Falconer wrote that 'the whole of the Artillery unit, No. 67...in which 200 men were recruited, has gone overseas except one...who is now in command and will recruit during the winter'. Actually, two drafts that had been training at Niagara and Petawawa spent the winter at Exhibition Camp but were overseas by spring. On 13 December 1916, during an appeal for more recruits, a column in the *Varsity* really pushed the duty button: 'Our Empire at present is facing one of its most critical phases...Upon you remaining students rests the sacred obligation to maintain the splendid traditions. To fail in this, would be as irreparable as unpardonable'.

More drafts followed throughout 1917 and early 1918. In September of 1918 the Battery and three others of its brigade were merged into No. 2 Artillery Depot. The Second Canadian Tank Battalion was raised from this and went overseas in the autumn.

Three Batteries, the 25th, 26th, and 43rd were also closely associated with the University as they included a good number of university men. The first two were raised in March 1915 and reached France in January 1916. The 25th and the 43rd, which reached France six months later, served as units right through the war. The 26th was broken up in the spring of 1917.

The bonds that the recruits formed survived the war and in November of 1919 they formed the 67th (Varsity) Battery Association. The membership reached about two hundred over time and in 1938 the Association purchased as its clubhouse an old log house on Sturgeon Lake dating from 1830. 'Chateau de la Haie' was named after the stately headquarters of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France. It was reluctantly sold in 1975 but the Association's newsletter, *Battery Banter*, which had been started in 1933, lasted until 1979. The records of the Association are in the University of Toronto Archives and some of its mementos are in the Memorial Room of the Soldiers' Tower.

VII

RESEARCH

At the beginning of 1914, little research was being done on campus, indeed in the whole of Canada. During the war there were probably 'not many more than 50 pure research men all told'. There were a few hopeful signs of movement at the U of T. The first occurred in May when the University, at the behest of President Falconer and Sir Edmund Walker,

agreed to take over the antitoxin lab that the newly-appointed John FitzGerald had established in a barn behind a house near the University and which he was no longer able to run. FitzGerald, the first full-time professor in the Department of Hygiene, thought the cost of establishment would be recovered in six months. They, and others on the Board of Governors, saw value in the lab. With the war on, FitzGerald's argument that it would be patriotic for the University to manufacture its own antitoxins for the Canadian Expeditionary Force resonated and augured well for the future.

The demand for antitoxins during the meningitis outbreak at Exhibition Camp the following spring forced the University, aided by a federal grant, to start making its own antitoxin. The lab established a pattern followed throughout the war of working closely with the Canadian Red Cross and the Department of the Militia which needed antitoxins for the other CEF camps across Ontario. The lab grew from six to sixteen staff in its first few months as it struggled to meet the demand.

The next step was to establish a farm where production could be expanded, as FitzGerald had originally suggested. Colonel Albert E. Gooderham, of the wealthy distillery family, came to the rescue by donating a fifty-eight acre farm northwest of Toronto, fully equipped for the production of sera, antitoxins, and vaccines and for scientific research. Named the Connaught and Antitoxin Laboratories, it was officially presented to the University on 25 October 1917 at a ceremony attended by Governor-General the Duke of Connaught, Premier Hearst, and a host of other dignitaries.

Following the opening Dr. Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, gave a public lecture in Convocation Hall. The significance of the laboratory was recognized in a $100,000 provincial endowment for the first research foundation in preventive medicine in Ontario. By then the Connaught's distribution had spread to health agencies across Canada and to Newfoundland and production had soared. 37,797,000 units of antitoxin were distributed in the year ending 1 September 1918.

Another figure who loomed large in the limited field of University war research was John McLennan, head of Physics. While he was a man with a large ego and a keen sense of self-promotion, he was innovative and always searching for new challenges. His war work was done mostly for the British government. He had been perfecting the extraction of helium from natural gas when, in 1915, its Board of Inventions and Research asked him to do a survey of the helium resources of the Empire for use in the Navy's lighter-than-air ships. His team determined that Canada was its

(ADMIRALTY.)

Official Pass
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

All those whom it may concern are requested to Permit
Professor J. C. McLennan
O.B.E., D.D., F.R.S.
a British subject who is serving in the official capacity of
Scientific Adviser to the Admiralty
to pass freely in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

Given at The Admiralty
the 8th day of November 1917.
Available until Recalled

J. Murray

NOT TRANSFERABLE.

Series A. O. No. 4641

Signature of Bearer:—
J. C. McLennan

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richest source and a considerable quantity was shipped to England. But when the United States entered the war Texas, with its huge gas fields and the infrastructure to deliver large quantities of helium quickly, reduced the significance of McLennan's work. By then he had moved on.

In the summer of 1917 he was back in Britain and asked by the Admiralty to follow up on the anti-submarine warfare research he had been doing in Toronto. President Falconer persuaded the Board of Governors to approve his leave with full pay and McLennan received federal help in assembling a team of senior and former students to assist him. They developed a functioning electrified copper loop that, when placed on the seabed, detected ships passing above, but developing stable contact mines proved elusive. One of the researchers, Horace Holmes, years later recalled that they 'never got past the problem of these things firing when the weather got rotten'. McLennan took a much more expansive view of their achievements, making claims that could not be substantiated. This aspect of his research is now little more than an interesting historical footnote.

The impact of Dr. Bruce Robertson's work is still being felt today. Before the war he had used blood transfusion as a therapeutic measure at the Hospital for Sick Children. Now, serving with the CAMC in France and Belgium, he began using it for the treatment of hemorrhage. His results were published in July 1916, the first transfusion article to appear in a major British medical journal. His use of blood rather than the crystalloid the British preferred saved lives where the British method could not and he gradually won the British over. By the end of the war blood transfusions were commonplace and Robertson is now honoured as the founder of blood transfusion in Canada.

Most other projects did not receive much public attention, an exception being the construction of the first wind tunnel in Canada. In the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering the focus was on improving war materiel, such as shell testing, using the Faculty's new materials testing laboratory. While most of this work would not be considered research today, 'some of the work done by the Faculty's chemists might be considered research'. Manufacturing processes for picric acid were studied by J. Watson Bain, synthetic phenol by M.C. Boswell, and magnesium by J.T. Burt-Gerrans. Clara Benson from Household Science, the first woman at the U of T to receive a PhD in chemistry, applied her knowledge to the chemistry of explosives. Manufacturing, testing, and investigation for the Militia Department and the War Office was carried out in the Physics and Hygiene laboratories, in addition to work done

in Applied Science.

Significant for the future was the recognized need for an institutional structure for research. The war had put pressure on governments to act (at the federal level, what would later become the National Research Council was founded) and encouraged deans of faculties to push for funding. W.H. Ellis of Applied Science, whose personal experience with war went back fifty years (he was wounded during the Fenian Raid in 1866) got the Engineering Research Council for which he had advocated. The Faculty of Medicine was forced to renew itself after the war, partly by improving its research facilities. The result was the Sir John and Lady Eaton Chair of Medicine headed by Duncan Graham, a brilliant surgeon who had served with the No. 4 General Hospital at Salonika. He is considered the first full-time professor of medicine in the British Empire.

VIII

REHABILITATION

By the fall of 1915, there were several institutions near the campus catering to invalided soldiers: the convalescent residence in the former Knox College building at Spadina Circle which became the Spadina Military Hospital, and Trinity House, a former men's residence at Trinity College. Some of these veterans required physical and mental rehabilitation. In the fall of 1916, Professor E.A. Bott began 'in a more or less experimental way' a treatment program at the Toronto General Hospital on College Street. Two men were treated there before the project was moved to Professor Bott's psychology lab in University College, because of overcrowding. By May of 1917 he had treated sixteen cases and the apparatus had overflowed into three other rooms. His methodology to treat injuries to the nervous or muscular system involved exercise, massage, electrical stimulation, and 'simple mechanical appliances that allowed the patient to register his progress [in strengthening his muscles] and build up his self-confidence'. One of his early successes was a man who began by learning to crawl, then to walk and became 'practically normal'. Dr. Bott had more success than some of his peers in England.

In May 1917 the Trustees of the Massey Estate turned Hart House over to the Military Hospitals Commission (soon the Invalided Soldiers' Commission) for the rehabilitation and retraining of soldiers. Dr. Bott moved his lab, now with three assistants, into the south wing where he worked under the direction of the MHC and the Canadian Army Medical Corps, in conjunction with the Orthopaedic Hospital in North Toronto.

The program was expanded to include a course in physiotherapy that, in addition to 'functional re-education', included expanded programs in massage and electrotherapy. Massage work was carried out in the swimming pool and one of the returned veterans teaching it was Donald McDougall who had been blinded by a bullet at Flers-Courcelette. He went on to study history at the U of T, was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, and returned to become a much-admired professor.

In 1917 the Military Hospitals Commission began cre-

Physical rehabilitation in Hart House.

ating military hospital rehabilitation programs six months before any in the United States. In September it appointed Professor H.E.T. Haultain of Applied Science as Vocational Officer for Ontario. The program for vocational rehabilitation had two components, the first being to assist disabled soldiers preparing for civilian occupations. In September 1918, the Commission took over the University's temporary gymnasium that had served the Athletic Association while Hart House was under construction. It moved in 'gasoline engines, and farm tractors that are used in teaching the returned soldier their mechanism and management' as part of a program to prepare them for civilian occupations. The theoretical side was taught in the building by staff of the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, and practical experience was gained on the University farm and other farms close to the city.

To introduce the second component, Haultain turned to his Faculty for assistance. It established a program of short courses to train 'suitable young ladies' as 'teachers of bedside and ward occupation', generally known then as 'ward aides' even though the term 'occupational therapist' did exist. The courses began on 20 February 1918 in the east end of the Mining Building, directed by Winifred Bairnerd, an American handicraft teacher on loan to the ISC who resigned after three months. Courses were initially six-weeks long but later were extended to three months. The remuneration was '$45 a month and $60 when workers are competent to start in the hospitals'. Students took 'the training and lectures with blackboard instruction and practical work at the benches'. Over 350 women had passed through the courses by the time they were discontinued in the summer of 1919, but the legacy was a diploma program in occupational and physical therapy that began in 1926.

The men were instructed in a range of categories ranging from metalwork, woodwork, and toy making to hand-loom weaving, to bookbinding and leatherwork, but especially, basketry. Helen Levesconte, who worked in the program, recalled that they (the ward aides) ridiculed basketry but, as there were a 'terrific number of hand cases – what could be more conducive to getting a man to at least hold something in his hand...it was a very smart thing to introduce and nobody...could ever have the face to say to you, "I can't do it"'. She noted that Haultain and Bott were 'extremely jealous of each other because both claimed that they were responsible for creating occupational therapy in the military hospitals and in Canada'. Haultain was the organizer, but Levesconte was more interested in Bott who instilled 'into

the masseuses and, indirectly, which was much more important in his mind, the medical man that this business of exercise…combined with something that man understood'. It was this introduction of motivation, she noted, that was praised by the Americans in associating Bott with the establishment of occupational therapy in Canada.

FREDERICK COATES AND FACIAL RECONSTRUCTION SURGERY

Frederick Coates was an Englishman who had studied sculpture and modelling at the Royal College of Art in London before immigrating to Canada in 1913 where he found employment as a model maker and began work on his sculpting. On 1 August 1916 he enlisted in the Canadian Army Medical Corps, serving at the Ontario Military Hospital at Orpington, the Westcliffe Eye and Ear Hospital at Folkestone, and the Queen's Hospital at Sidcup. He used his modelling skills to help soldiers who had suffered horrific facial injuries in a war dominated by high explosives and artillery. At Sidcup he worked with Dr. Harold Gillies, the pioneering plastic surgeon who developed some of the world's first successful skin grafts to treat facial injuries.

> In conjunction with the British Medical Corps, he studied photographs of patients before and after they had been wounded, and constructed plaster models to scale. One journalist recounted the painstaking process: 'The plastic surgeons followed these forms minutely as they twisted human flesh into new noses and jaws. Dozens of operations were often required on one man, and all the time Frederick Coates acted as the "facial architect". The doctors knew how to graft flesh and bones; Coates knew what a remodelled face should look like'.

Frederick Coates holding a plaster facial mold.

At Queen's Hospital Coates would have met another Canadian, Fulton Risdon, the first surgeon in Canada to practise plastic surgery as a specialty. He joined Dr. Gillies at the Queen's Hospital in 1916 and did facial reconstruction on soldiers from Canada, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. He returned to Toronto in 1919 to establish the specialty in Canada and was the sole plastic surgeon in Canada until the 1930s. At the Royal College of Dental Surgeons, Dr. William Cummer, who had been seconded to Military District No. 2 in 1914, had a well-stocked technology and prosthetics lab. He and other surgeons were aware of some of the developments in plastic surgery and keen to learn more. In December

of 1918 surgeons at the College, in conjunction with the Dental Corps and the Preparedness League of American Dentists Institute, ran a special six-day course 'of instruction in reconstruction work, under the heads of war prosthesis, fractures, splints, oral surgery and anaesthesia'. A hundred professionals attended from all over the continent as part of the federal reconstruction scheme.

It was to the Royal College of Dental Surgeons that Frederick Coates turned for employment when he returned to Toronto. In 1921 he was appointed to the chair of modelling there. The same year he was hired by the University of Toronto as an instructor in modelling in the Department of Architecture.

IX

INDIVIDUAL STORIES

Every enlistee in the Great War had at least one story to tell, given the opportunity; often a lot more. The soldiers and their actions were stories in themselves and the ones relayed here were selected partly for the variety of experience, but also because there is much surviving material to document and illustrate them.

HAROLD INNIS

Harold Adams Innis does not appear in the *University of Toronto Roll of Service, 1914–1918* because he was a student at

Harold Innis with gas mask, tired, just having come off duty. 1917.

McMaster University. But he had, along with other McMaster enrollees in the COTC, trained with M Company at the U of T. He thought 'the infantry is no place for a man if he wants to come back alive' and enlisted on 17 May 1916 as a signaller with the 69th Battery of the Canadian Field Artillery. He went overseas in July and by November was in France with the 1st Divisional Ammunition Column of the 4th Battery of the CFA. He first saw front-line action at Bully Grenay in the Lens region. In March of 1917 he was part of the Canadian preparations for the assault on Vimy Ridge. On 7 July, while on the nightly observational patrol, he received a severe shrapnel wound in his right thigh. He would have died had he not had a thick notepad in his pocket; as it was, he was hospitalized in England for eight months.

The world has been well served by Innis's survival from the carnage of war. The University of Toronto did not benefit alone. His writings on the role of staple products in the development of Canada have provided much grist for historians and economists alike. His ideas on the theory of communications were taken up by Marshall McLuhan, one of the consequences of which is a small industry for Innis scholars which shows no sign of abating.

GERALD BLAKE, HAROLD AND HUME WRONG

Gerald Edward Blake and Harold Verschoyle Wrong were cousins, both recent graduates of University College and the grandsons of Edward Blake, for twenty-five years chancellor of the U of T and a defender of its interests for much longer, a very able and wealthy lawyer, and a less successful politician. Harold was the middle son of Sophia Georgina Blake and George Wrong, head of the Department of History; Gerald was the eldest son of Ethel Mary Benson (step-sister of Clara Benson) and the late Edward Francis Blake.

In 1914 Harold was a student at Christ Church, Oxford. His elder brother, Murray, was an academic in England and his younger brother, Hume, a year away from completing his degree in Classics at University College. His elder sister, Margaret would soon be the founding head of the University College Women's Union. All three brothers tried to enlist. Murray was rejected because rheumatic fever had left him with 'an aortic regurgitation sufficiently gross to cause a "water-hammer" pulse which moved his chair with each heart-beat'. Hume was rejected in Canada because of an eye-injury suffered in childhood; he went to England with Gerald Blake, who had been studying law, and they both joined the Oxford and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry.

Kerr Cronyn, Henrietta Haultain, Margaret Wrong (UC, 1906-07, 1910-1911; M.A. 1920), Gerald Blake (B.A. 1914), and Harold Wrong (B.A. 1913) reading a newspaper announcing the outbreak of war on 4 August 1914.

Harold received his commission in December 1914 in the 15th (Salford) Battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers. He served in France from November 1915 and on 30 June 1916, on the eve of the first battle of the Somme, he sent a small pencilled note with a pressed flower to Murray in Manchester; it read, 'All well with me'. The next day his brigade launched a frontal attack at Thiepval and he 'was last seen crossing the German front line wounded in the hand'.

His battalion was cut to pieces.

Three weeks later Gerald Blake, who had first served south of Ypres and then on the Somme, was acting captain in command of a company at the village of Pozières a few miles from where Harold had died. In a night attack on 23 July he led his company up to the German parapet where he was instantly killed. Most of the other officers became casualties, but the men captured the trench.

Hume Wrong survived. He, too, served at Ypres and the battles of the Somme before being invalided out with trench fever in November 1916. In March of 1917, when the Royal Flying Corps was organized in Toronto, he was placed in charge of its depot in the Engineering Building. From June 1918 he was a captain in the Royal Air Force and adjutant of its Long Branch cadet wing. In 1927 he left the academic world to join the fledgling Department of External Affairs. There he moved up through positions of ever increasing responsibility until, in 1946, he succeeded Lester Pearson as Canadian ambassador to Washington.

ROY AND HARRIET COCKBURN

James Roy Cockburn and his elder sister, Harriet Macmillan Cockburn, came from a well-to-do Toronto family. Roy taught engineering drawing at the U of T; Harriet, with an MD, CM from old Trinity Medical College, was a medical doctor.

Roy was a lieutenant in I Company (Applied Science) of the COTC before enlisting in the 170th Battalion of the CEF

J. Roy Cockburn (left) in Egypt, 1917.

in January 1916. In France he served on the Vimy front for four months from the end of October with the 2nd Field Survey Company of the 58th Battalion of the Royal Engineers. Three months later, promoted to Captain, he was with the 3rd FSC in charge of 'V' Sound-ranging Section. His initial work had been designing trenches (he brought back a large collection of trench maps) but he really excelled in sound-ranging, 'determining the coordinates of a hostile artillery battery using data derived from the sound of its guns (or mortar or rockets) firing' and directing artillery fire at a position with known coordinates.

In September of 1917 he was transferred to the Egyptian Expeditionary Force to head its 'V' Section, and served under Field Marshall Allenby in Palestine. He was present for the capture of Beersheba, Jerusalem, Gaza (for which he kept a map of his sound-ranging plotting), Jaffa, Acre, Haifa, and Damascus. At Beersheba he learned the consequences of not

carrying his identity disc at all times; he was arrested because he closely resembled a famous German spy the British were looking for. In Jerusalem the miserable time he spent 'camped out with his whole outfit on a spur of the Mount of Olives… [in] rain and furious wind' was descriptive enough for his sister, Georgina, to mention it to Oswald Smith. His contributions were recognized by the awarding of a Military Cross in January 1919.

Harriet was a surgeon who joined the Serbian Relief Fund and by July of 1915, armed with a special passport signed by Earl Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, she was at Kragujavetz in Serbia with the Stobart Unit, run by Mrs. Mabel St. Clair Stobart. It was a sixty-five-tent field hospital that she had brought up from Salonika in April and was staffed entirely by some forty-five women. It included an X-ray department and a fully-equipped operating theatre. The very capable and energetic Mrs. Stobart ensured that it was mobile; it could be moved on about a half-hour's notice and, because, as at Salonika, it was subject to bombing attacks, its patients (up to 130 of them) could be evacuated in even less time. At times of fighting, the Unit split into mobile squads the better to attend to the wounded.

When the Austrians and Bulgarians broke through the Serbian lines in October 1915, the only escape route lay over the mountains to the Albanian coast. 'That terrible march through mud, snow, hunger, frostbite, typhus, and gangrene cost 40,000 lives. The Stobart Unit marched with them'. Though others disagreed, Harriet did not see herself as a hero: at Rashka in the Serbian hills 'the sight of the young recruits, without sufficient clothes, without food and all driven on before in case they might be taken prisoners was an awful sight, and I lost my nerve'.

There was much public interest in the war in Serbia, including the work of the Stobart Unit; two lengthy articles appeared in the *Varsity Magazine Supplement* alone. When Harriet returned to Toronto she was lionized in the press. The fact that she brought back with her Konstantine Prolich, a 13-year old boy soldier who had been captured by the Germans and handed over to Harriet on the condition she take him out of Europe, helped make very good copy.

DORIS MCPHEDRAN

Doris McPhedran was the wife of Dr. Harris McPhedran who served with the No. 4 Canadian General Hospital at Salonika and later at CAMC headquarters and the No. 6, 13, and 14 Canadian General Hospitals in England. She was an energetic woman with wide interests and before her marriage in 1909 had been an assistant proofreader at the *Toronto Daily Star*, for which she had written articles under the pen-name 'Florinda'. Once her husband was safe in England, she was determined to be a press correspondent and after much lobbying, including writing letters to Prime Minster Borden and members of his cabinet, got her wish. With the sanction of the Canadian High Commission in London, she went to France with three other Canadian women in December 1917. The purpose was to report on conditions there, and on how the troops were being tended by the nursing sisters, the Red Cross, the YMCA and other agencies. The stories that

appeared in the papers in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver were rather more forthright than the authorities who had approved the trip would have liked. The military retaliated by impeding Dr. McPhedran's advancement in medical circles in England.

DAVIDSON BLACK

Davidson Black had degrees in Medicine and Arts from the U of T and was a professor of anatomy in Cleveland when, in the summer of 1914, he and his wife vacationed in England. He witnessed the excitement over the 'discovery' of the Piltdown Man, a factor in his decision to change the focus of his research to the direct study of man's forbears. They were in Amsterdam on 4 August when war was declared, stayed a week longer, then made their way back to Toronto. Black's attempt to enlist was rebuffed because of a slight heart murmur he had had all his life, so he returned to Cleveland.

When the United States entered the war, he enlisted in the CAMC with the rank of captain. He was attached to the Divisional Laboratory of Military District No. 2 until June of 1918 when he went overseas. He was assigned first to the CAMC Training Division at Risborough Barracks at Shorncliffe in Kent. During a week's leave in September he discussed a possible appointment to the Peking Union Medical College which was being established by the Rockefeller Foundation. He accepted the offer, backdated to June but to be taken up when he was released from his next posting. It was the Canadian General Laboratory attached to the Canadian Special Hospital at Witley, Surrey, that treated venereal disease. He remained there until 2 February 1919, headed back to Canada, and on 21 September arrived in Peking. There, over the next decade, his leadership and research led to the discovery of Peking Man.

Some of the items from Davidson Black's kit as an officer have survived. They include his sewing kit (rather larger than that provided to the lower ranks), a Gillette safety razor (it had been invented the year before) in a leatherbound case, with blades in a silver box; an ivory-handled straight razor, a waterproof metal matchbox (Dr. Black smoked), a stainless steel mirror, his CAMC hat badge, and his dogtags, or discs as they were generally known at that time.

X

WE SERVED...AND CAME BACK

Soldier-students who had been wounded or otherwise rendered unfit for military service started to drift back to the University in the fall of 1915. Though few at first, by January of 1918 they numbered three hundred. Many of the students were wounded and invalided out but able to return to a full life. They included Hume Wrong, a son of Professor George Wrong, who went on to a distinguished career as a diplomat, and Raymond Massey who, on his return, served with the Royal Flying Corps from its inception before eventually taking up acting (some argue his brother, Vincent, was a better actor). Injured members of the faculty included two

history professors, Lester Pearson and Ralph Hodder Williams. Pearson served with the No. 4 General Hospital at Salonika and was with the Royal Flying Corps in England when he was wounded in 1917. Ralph Hodder Williams received the Military Cross for his actions at Courcelette: 'although wounded, he continued to lead his men in the attack, and after again being wounded, he continued to command his men until the position was made good. He displayed great bravery throughout'.

Two members of the Class of 1T6 in medicine, who later rose to fame for very different reasons, had rather different wartime experiences. Norman Bethune spent the first year of the war in France with the No. 2 Field Ambulance of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. He suffered a shrapnel wound and returned to complete his medical degree in 1916. He then served as a surgeon with the Imperial Grand Fleet. Frederick Banting was wounded at Cambrai in September 1918 while serving as a medical officer in the 44th Battalion. Both men would have known three U of T medical students who were wounded at St. Julien in 1915 and sent back to Toronto to resume their studies. They refused to talk about their injuries to the press and insisted they were not invalids. This was a typical reaction; there were thousands of seriously damaged soldiers who needed a lot of support and rehabilitation and it would have been unseemly to complain or brag. Even students who had suffered obvious injuries, like Frank O'Leary, who sported a wooden leg – he had lost his right one at Passchendaele – were expected to get on with life. He did so with gusto; he was, as secretary, a moving force behind the University Veterans' Association and at the time of his

death at the age of sixty-one was described as 'the kindest man in Toronto'.

Many graduates came back to Canada but not to the U of T. Frank Underhill, a self-described 'North York Presbyterian Grit', had been teaching at the University of Saskatchewan before the War. He joined the Fourth University Company of the Princess Pats as a private, survived Ypres and Cambrai unscathed but was shot in the thigh at Villiers-Faucon in 1918. He recuperated in England, returned to Saskatoon, and in 1927 was hired by the University of Toronto, where he made a name for himself as a political thinker and was a thorn in the side of the establishment, whether university administrators or politicians.

The demobilized soldiers who returned in the fall and winter of 1918-1919 created problems for a University that was adjusting to peace-time and would not fully jettison its military component until the end of the academic year. In 1918-1919 there were 3,356 students, plus those taking summer sessions and occasionals in Social Service. That was 820 more

students than the year before, though 900 below the 1914 level. The principal problem was the erratic arrival of the returned soldiers. The normal registration deadline of mid-October was abandoned as it was not until the third week of November that the Government moved to discharge soldiers who wished to return to their studies. 'Any person who has engaged in war work is entitled to enter, provided his academic qualifications are sufficient'. Matters then moved swiftly and by early December some eighty per cent of the 1200 ex-service men who eventually registered were back on campus, having surrendered their uniforms and been given a physical. Most were ex-COTC members, but some were RAF. 'Chemists, mostly undergraduates, who had worked for the Imperial Munitions Board' had also returned.

Two categories of students registered: former undergraduates or matriculants and those who had enlisted in school before completing their matriculation. The first category joined classes already in progress. Separate classes with specially chosen tutors were created for the second group that ran from February 1919 through the summer. Then 150 Arts and Engineering students registered late in December, with a few stragglers after that. A parallel session for the engineers ran from February until the end of June, while the Arts students attended a short session from May until the end of July. The University ran these special courses at a loss of $20,000 and sought some relief from Ottawa.

The ex-servicemen formed the University Veterans' Association in February 1919 to provide a social focus for and to cement friendship amongst students who 'had seen voluntary service in an actual theatre of war'. One of its most dynamic members was its secretary, Frank O'Leary. Its social events were far from its only activities. The Association was very much concerned about the condition of the returned soldier since many had serious financial difficulties. Throughout the spring and summer of 1919, with the strong support of President Falconer, it lobbied the House of Commons to provide assistance to soldier-students. The campaign did not have the desired success and over the next year-and-a-half the Association slowly faded away. In the spring of 1922 O'Leary moved to disband it. Attitudes were changing; the veteran 'was no longer particular about consorting with his erstwhile brothers-in-arms; and...ex-service students are taking a prominent part in general undergraduate activities and have little time to spare'.

XI

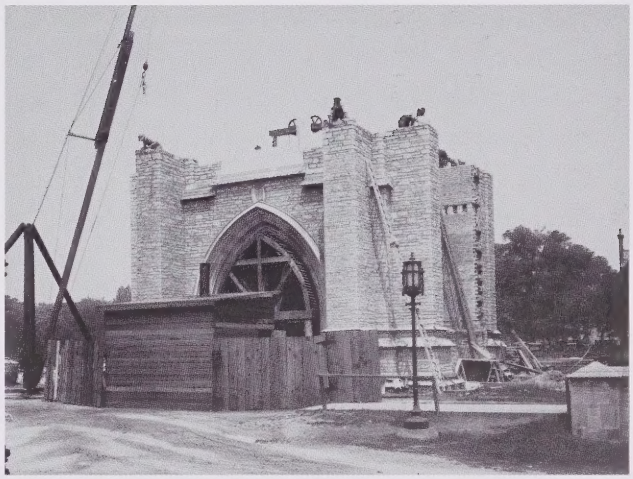
UNIVERSITY MEMORIALS

The war was only a few months old when the first memorial appeared in the foyer of University College. Over the course of four years, it was periodically updated, while the other colleges and faculties created their own versions. Some of these were made permanent after the war; Victoria College, for instance, held a memorial service in its chapel on 17 October 1919 and produced a booklet, 'In Memoriam pro patria mortuorum 1914-1918' for the occasion. A proposed memorial chapel was never built. Trinity College, which had suffered financially during the war and was preparing to move to Hoskin Avenue, made do with a beautifully-executed memo-

rial volume. The Royal College of Dental Surgeons created a bronze wall memorial, as did the Faculty of Forestry which lost fifteen of its eighty enlistees. At Niagara-on-the Lake, the Polish section of the cemetery was dedicated on 30 May 1923, followed by the dedication of a granite memorial cross six months later on 27 November.

Overriding these local efforts was the question of an appropriate memorial for the University of Toronto as a whole. A discussion of how to memorialize the fallen had started over a year before the war ended. A committee, later called the University War Memorial Committee, had been created, its membership enlarged at the end of 1917 to include representatives 'of the faculties and the professions, and even the graduates, both men and women…'. Its first meeting was held on 16 January 1918 and over the next several months the groundwork was laid so that it could quickly swing into action, which it did on 11 December. At a dinner meeting in the Examination Hall (the military's kitchen was still operational), over 225 alumni heard speakers discuss the options and on 18 December, at a mass meeting of students in Convocation Hall, President Falconer outlined the various proposals that were being suggested.

On 19 February 1919, the *Varsity* announced that the physical portion of the Memorial would be a Gothic tower with a carillon; the suggestion by an unnamed woman student at an earlier meeting that she would like to see 'a tower with bells' had the most appeal of all the proposals. The decision was formally approved on 21 March and a committee was struck to start fundraising. In May it suspended its activities until the fall when it aimed to be better organized. The



Soldiers' Tower under construction, June 23 1923.

University had never had 'well-organized, united, alumni support' so it faced a challenge. Nevertheless, by the first anniversary of the Armistice when the Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, laid the cornerstone, the architectural firm of Sproatt & Rolph had been hired and had prepared a preliminary sketch. The deadline for the completion of construction was Armistice Day, 1923 and by the end of the year about $225,000 had been raised.

The War Memorial Committee then faced both an opportunity and a challenge. On 19 March 1920 the University Veterans' Association, which had made inquiries the year before, formally offered to raise $20,000 'entirely amongst themselves for the erection of two tablets bearing the names of all the graduates and undergraduates killed in action'. Frank O'Leary, its secretary, wrote that it made this offer because it understood 'that the Memorial Committee does

not intend to make a direct appeal to returned members of the C.E.F. for funds'. The Committee's stance was understandable because one part of the Memorial project was to provide loans to the numerous returned soldiers at the university who were in financial straits. In the fall of 1920 fundraising for this purpose took priority and further construction on the Soldiers' Tower was delayed for about a year. This meant it was not completed until 1924, with a formal dedication ceremony on 5 June.

REMEMBERING THROUGH THEATRE

After the Great War there was a considerable difference on campus in the nature of and the number of plays that were performed. During the war years the plays put on by the women's theatre groups and by the Dramatic Club of the Faculty of Education had moved away from the steady diet of Shakespeare which, for the most part, had been the standard fare before 1914. Now the campus was flooded with returned men with different perspectives on life and new ideas. It is not surprising that they would initially want to record and even celebrate what they had been through.

The impact of the war was immediately evident in several plays. The women of St. Hilda's College led the way with 'As We Are' by Ada Garrow, a war-time fantasy in one act performed seventeen days after the Armistice was signed. 'The Mudwallopers of Na Poo Corners' followed several days later. Written by Robert Hayes, it was a clever and highly amusing look at life in the trenches. It was presented by the men of Trinity College under the leadership of Harold Burt Scudamore who thoroughly knew his subject; he had fought at Lens and Passchendaele. In fact, all the actors were veterans, something that would not have been lost on the audience which understood the black humour in the title. '*Il n'y a plus*' ('There is no more'), used by the French farmers in haggling with soldiers over food, became 'na poo' ('obliterated') in army slang.

The success of this modest piece encouraged Scudamore and three fellow actors, William Lachlan McGeary of University College, and Harry Robertson Dillon and Ralph Waldo Downie of Applied Science, to attempt a full three-part play with an ambitious musical programme and a large cast. 'The P.B.I. or Mademoiselle of Bully Grenay' was produced by the Varsity Veterans Association and ran in Hart House Theatre from 10-13 March 1920, to rapturous acclaim. 'Every faculty of the U. of T, and every activity of student life, was represented in the cast...There were members from the Rugby, Track and Swimming teams, the Boxing, Fencing and Wrestling Club, the Harriers'; the major student societies — Engineering, Dental, and Medical — the Students' Administrative Council, the *Varsity* staff, and 'of course from the Varsity Veterans'. The Association also printed 'The Varsity Veterans Song Sheet' that contained patriotic, marching and drinking songs. Copies were eagerly snapped up.

The pressure to produce the play on a professional stage became so great that the playwrights formed a private company, The P.B.I Productions Limited, to tour it. It played in Brantford during the week of 17 May, at the Princess Theatre

in downtown Toronto during the week of 24 May, then in London, Peterborough, Kingston, Perth, Ottawa, and Belleville. After a short layover, the company did a second tour, ending in Massey Hall on 9 October. Since the shareholders and directors were returning to college, they agreed to rent the play with the option of buying it outright. There had already been a suggestion that it tour across Canada from Montreal to the Pacific Coast.

POETRY IN WARTIME

As the fall term began in 1916, the *Varsity* lamented the lack of poetry on campus and, as a result, the absence of an alternative voice about the human condition in wartime. So it began an occasional column, 'Our Daily Poem', that printed poems written or translated by students or graduates. Most were not about war. Previously, only one poem addressing the current conflict had appeared in its pages, 'Prussian Red' by 'B.I'. of the class of 1915. The first stanza reads: 'The trees are red – autumn red/And the Prussian bugle's blowing/The trees are red, above the dead/And the Prussian bugle's blowing'. Now, however, there were more. 'Shells', a long poem written for the *Varsity* by W. Booth, a Pharmacy graduate from Trenton, Ontario, was published on 6 December. It portrayed the carnage caused by shells fired in the defence of freedom: 'Hear the thundering, bursting shells,/British shells!/What a hope of freedom their steay [sic] stream fortells/How they whizz and clash and roar/What a horror they outpour/From the serried lines of guns/Beating back the baffled Huns'.

Canada has no Great War poets as such. This country's most famous war poem, 'In Flander's Fields', was written by Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae, a U of T medical graduate of 1898, on 3 May 1915 to honour his friend, Alexis Helmer, who was killed during the Second Battle of Ypres. It was first published in *Punch* on 8 December and was immediately popular. On campus, it appeared in the 1917 volume of the *Varsity Magazine Supplement* and in all three editions of the *Roll of Service.*

Poetry was certainly about elsewhere, often scribbled by students, now soldiers, on active service. Some of these

John McCrae

poems, like those written by Harold Verschoyle Wrong, were published by his grieving family as a memorial. *Verses*, which appeared in 1922, contains several previously unpublished poems on the themes of freedom and death that were found amongst his papers: 'Moritura te saluto', 'England – 1914' and 'Death – 1914'.

Other poems were published in student papers and journals. The *Varsity Magazine Supplement* printed several. The best, 'Laus Varsitatis, a song in praise of the University of Toronto', was a full-page salute to the University in war written by Stephen Leacock. It appeared in the 1916 edition that also carried 'Lines Written in the Sight of Gallipoli', penned by George Thorold Davidson a short time after the evacuation. 'Fall In!' by Lieutenant Leo Buchanan, who was killed in action at St. Eloi on 20 April 1916, appeared the following year.

XII

REMEMBERING

A total of 608 students, graduates, faculty, and staff killed or died on active service, and 884 were wounded, from a total of 5,691 recorded as having enlisted in the armed forces. There was much honouring and remembering to do. The University and its colleges and faculties proved most adept at creating a lasting record of the impact of the Great War in a variety of memorials and publications. The publications dedicated a great deal of space honouring individuals, especially the dead, whilst simultaneously trying to situate the war and the sacrifices made in a broad perspective.

Two graduates of the University are presented because of their high military achievements and their different fates. Malcolm Smith Mercer was born in 1856, graduated in philosophy from University College in 1885, took law, and joined the Queen's Own Rifles, succeeding Sir Henry Pellatt as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant in 1911. When war broke out he headed to Valcartier, Quebec with soldiers from the QOR, where he was given command of the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade. On arrival in England he spent the winter under canvas on Salisbury Plain where he endured rain, more rain and high winds.

By the time of his first battle on 22 April at Ypres, he was a Major General leading the 1st Canadian Brigade which was exposed to the first German gas attack and suffered heavy casualties but, with the two other Canadian brigades, kept

Malcolm Smith Mercer

Thain Wendell MacDowell

the Germans from capturing Ypres. For this action, Mercer and the other commanders were named Companions of the Order of the Bath. His good fortune did not last long. On 2 July near Mount Sorel, he and two other senior officers were wounded by an intense German artillery bombardment while on reconnaissance. In the wee hours of 3 July near Mount Sorel, when the British laid down a heavy barrage, Mercer was instantly killed by a piece of shrapnel in his heart. He was the highest-ranking Canadian to be killed by friendly fire in the Great War.

Born in 1890 Thain MacDowell received his B.A. in 1915, having already enlisted with the 38th (Ottawa) Canadian Infantry Battalion on 1 February. He was promoted to captain in July and served with the 38th on garrison duty in Bermuda. He reached France in August 1916 and fought at Ypres, Messines, and then at the Somme. Wounded there on 16 November, he received the Distinguished Service Order which was normally awarded only to colonels and ranks above, for capturing four machine guns and a number of prisoners.

'For most continuous bravery and indomitable resolution in the face of heavy machine-gun and shell fire. By his initiative and courage this officer, with the assistance of two runners, was enabled, in the face of great difficulties, to capture two machine guns, besides two officers and 75 men'. So reads, in part, the citation accompanying the Victoria Cross awarded to Thain Wendell MacDowell, the only U of T soldier (and proud graduate of Victoria College) to receive the award during the War. His achievement was all the more impressive because, 'although wounded in the hand he continued for five days to hold the position gained until eventually relieved by his Battalion. By his bravery and prompt action he undoubtedly succeeded in rounding up a very strong machine gun post'.

Captain MacDowell was commanding 'A' Company of the 38th Battalion at Vimy Ridge on the morning of 9 April 1917 when the action described above took place. His was one of four Victoria Crosses awarded at Vimy and he lived to talk about it. When he returned to the U of T to do a master's degree after the war, he presented to Hart House one of the machine guns he had captured.

The war affected families across the University, as demonstrated by the many letters received by University officials, especially those working on the *Roll of Service*. In the upper echelons of the University, any thought that the war might not touch these families was soon dissipated. Chancellor Meredith and former vice-chancellor Charles Moss both lost sons. So did retired president James Loudon; broken-hearted, he died soon after. The recently retired professor of German, W. H. Van der Smissen, lost his only son as did Alexander Primrose in Medicine. George Wrong of History lost a son, Harold, and a nephew, Gerald Blake.

'THE VARSITY' WAR SUPPLEMENT

The Students' Administrative Council published *'The Varsity' War* (after the first issue the *Varsity Magazine*) *Supplement* with 'the aim at being a record of the University's war activities and a revenue producing agency for Canadian base hospitals on active service'. It was produced by a five-member editorial and management board with Sidney Childs of Trinity College as managing editor and an occasional contributor.

The *Supplement* was a lavish production, printed on quality paper, with excellent photographs and beautifully designed covers, the last three in colour. Each volume contained photographs of enlisted men, lists of honours bestowed, the names of those who died on active service, articles about the issues and activities associated with the war (with illustrations), and the occasional poem. The first volume carried the extensive listing of contributions for the No. 4 Canadian General Hospital.

Four volumes were produced, and while the editor aimed for publication at the close of the civil year, the end of the winter term was more realistic. The July 1915 volume sold for twenty-five cents but the following year the price doubled to fifty cents. The 1916 volume was larger and glossier as the editorial board had more money at its disposal. The first volume had been very popular and an even more appealing product would further the magazine's second objective, fundraising. The editors had no problem finding good writers or, after the first issue, covering the production costs through advertising.

One of the stumbling blocks the *Supplement* faced was ensuring that its stated objective of acquiring photographs of all enlistees be met. Oswald Smith, the editor of the *Roll of Service*, observed 'that of 1915 was, as far as I know, thorough and complete. In the 1916 number...there are, I understand, several hundred names missing, and the information attached to the photographs is less complete than in the previous number'. In a column in the *Varsity*, the editors stated that they had mailed out circulars but not everyone had responded. In an attempt to resolve this problem, they advertised in the *Varsity*, listing all the people who had not sent in

photographs and asking for images. John Brodie, who worked on advertising for the last volume of the *Supplement* (and for the *Varsity*) recorded another problem, the lack of adequate office equipment.

To ensure the success of its fundraising activities, the business manager pushed sales by advertising frequently in the *Varsity* and announcing where copies might be picked up. For the 1916 volume, this advertisement appeared frequently: '**All proceeds will be donated to Canadian hospitals at home and at the front.** Every student and graduate of the University of Toronto, not on active service, will be asked to purchase two copies of the Magazine Supplement'. After three volumes, Sidney Childs wrote that the generous support of 'graduates, undergraduates, and friends of the University...has enabled the Council to disburse $31,344.23 amongst the British and Canadian Red Cross Societies, Patriotic and Relief Funds, University Overseas Hospital Supply Association and Training Units. The profits of the Fourth Supplement will likewise be distributed to patriotic, re-educational and repatriation work'.

THE ROLL OF SERVICE

In March of 1917 the *Varsity* reported that the Board of Governors would be publishing in the summer 'an official Roll of all the members of the University, both graduate and undergraduate, who are on active military service'. The initiative had come four months before from Oswald Smith, who taught Latin in University College. He wrote to James Brebner, the University registrar, that the University should publish its own official record of those on active service. 'There have been a number of parties at work on separate lists, collaborating to a considerable degree, but in part working independently'. He had his own COTC list and he knew of ones compiled by the Registrar, Medicine, Applied Science, and Victoria College, that the Students' Administrative Council was planning one and that A. H. Abbott wanted one for Alumni Association purposes.

The Board of Governors accepted the impossibility of keeping these lists consistent, accurate and complete. It provided funding for an office with one permanent assistant, to serve as a clearing house for gathering information, the compilation of lists and the creation of a provisional *Roll of Service* by the end of 1917. Smith suggested, and the president concurred, that the *Roll* 'should be confined to those who have been registered as members of the University of Toronto'. That meant students of the Ontario College of Pharmacy and the Ontario Agricultural College would not be included 'unless they were at some time registered in the University'. Late in July 1917 Smith was proposing to have the manuscript in the hands of the U of T Press by mid-August. He had also written to the artist C.W. Jeffreys for advice about the cover design.

With the first volume out of the way, further problems arose. Smith must have empathized with the editors of the *Supplement* when he wrote in January 1918 that 'we shall have to begin trying to trace out the hundreds of people from whom we did not receive replies'. Also, by the next session he would have to take up 'the work of preparing and editing (perhaps practically myself writing) the War Book (i.e., the

Flowers in front of Tablets. First Armistice (later Remembrance) Day after the completion of Soldiers' Tower, November 11, 1924.

narrative records of the Hospital, the COTC, etc.)' and that he would 'probably ask for "leave of absence", whole or partial, to devote myself to it...' He emphasized that he did not want to give up teaching altogether.

In the first and the second editions (the latter was published with a supplement at the end of 1918), the information came partly from newspapers, partly from correspondence with relatives, comrades and friends, with some information from Ottawa or the War Office. Work on the final edition started in the spring of 1919 and this time Smith sent out forms 'to reach each man personally and to obtain over his signature a record of his service'. The response was very good. Even some ex-soldiers who had been in the COTC but were not students (Harold Innis was one) responded, even though their names were not included. This volume, which was published in 1921, had an additional Roll of Honour listing those who 'died after discharge, 1917-1920, in part from disabilities incurred on Service' and an appendix listing names of soldiers who registered in the University after returning from active service. Summaries and lists of honours were also updated.

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Ans. Sep. 30

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My dear Mr. Smith

I wish to thank you for your kind personal words of sympathy — from the days of your platoon 'Harold' gained nearly 50 lbs & grew a couple of inches — From the COTC he was granted a commission in the 109th being then appointed to the overseas unit called the Great War Veteran's overseas Co this in time became E Co of the 1st C.O.R. He left with the first draft of 1000 men Nov 17. 1917 reached France April 15. 1918 & left No. 4. platoon A Co of the 116th into action on the 8th August his Colonel writes glowingly of his fine part in that battle. wounded by a high explosive shell that threw him twenty feet. he directed his removal to the

dressing station by six German prisoners — his unit having brilliantly won its objective with the loss of all its officers and many of its men — "thus Right dominated Wrong — and that is what the sacrifice of the lads is for and we too must be of heroic mould tho' ours are the homes that mourn —

Harold was a very wholesome boy but 21. and excelled in the outdoor sports — his dog was stolen just before he left. I still have his pony — His violin banjo & piano which gave so much pleasure to his circle are silent & this intensifies our loss and being an only child made it very hard for me to let him go —

In England his love of gardening won him a permanent position as Commandant of the Gardens at Witley — but he declined it for what he thought his duty the front trenches.

Iam yours very sincerely

A K Goodman

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